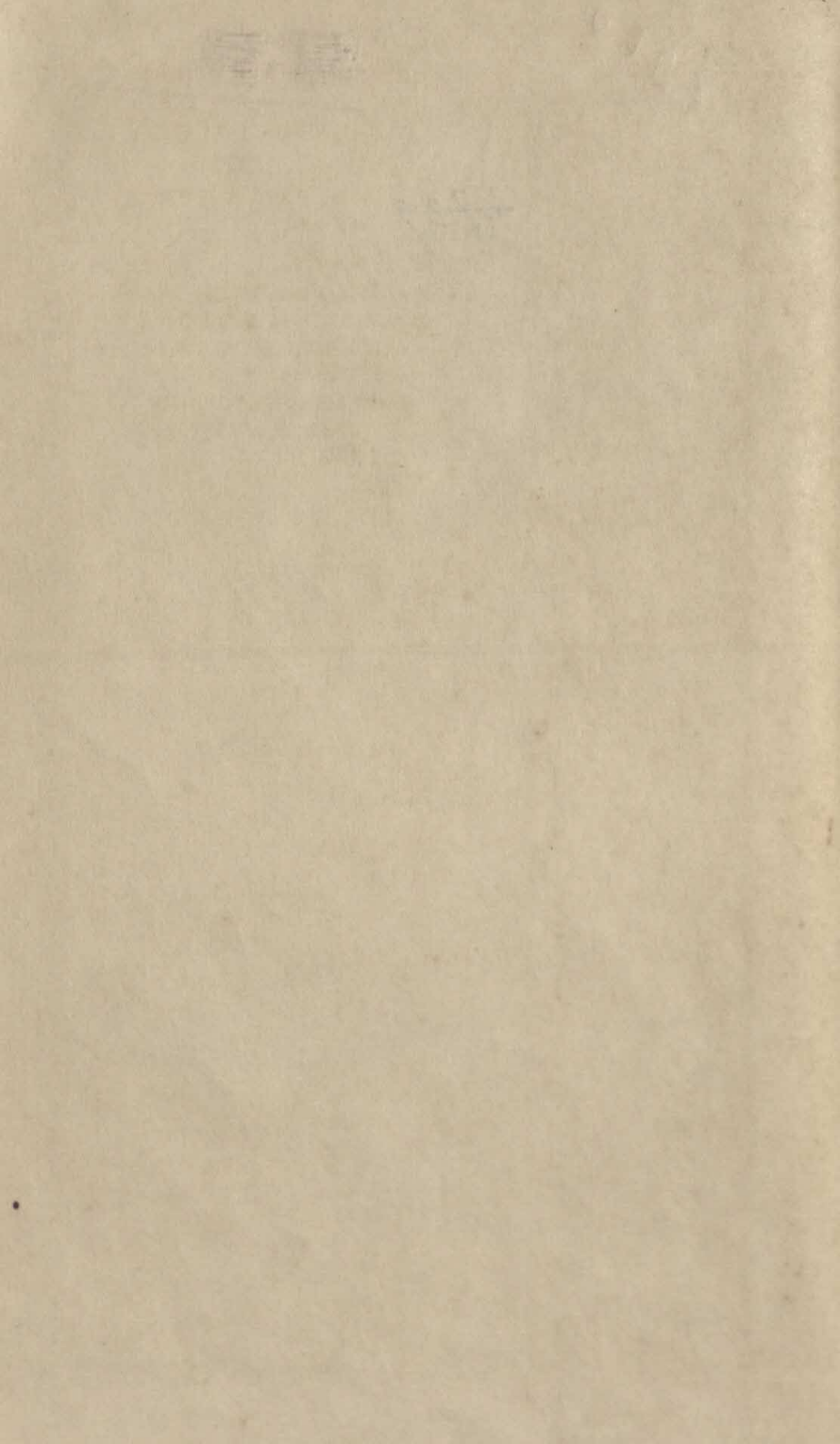


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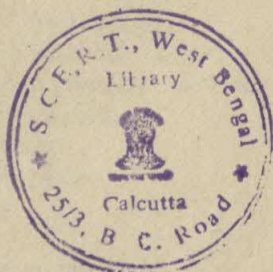
SOCIOLOGY
OF
PLANNING

BASED ON A THESIS
ACCEPTED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
FOR THE AWARD OF
PREMCHAND ROYCHAND
STUDENTSHIP IN LETTERS
FOR 1960,

SOCIOLOGY OF PLANNING

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FIRST EDITION, NOVEMBER, 1968

PRICE : Rs. 14.50

PUBLISHED BY RAMENDRANATH MULLICK, RABINDRA BHARATI UNIVERSITY,
6/4 DWARKANATH TAGORE LANE, CALCUTTA 6 AND PRINTED BY DEBDAS
NATH, SADHANA PRESS PRIVATE LTD., 76 B. B. GANGULY STREET, CAL. 12

To

Sri HIRANMAY BANERJEE

formerly of the Indian Civil Service,
now Vice-Chancellor and the great architect
of Rabindra Bharati University,
a humanist-educationist of distinction,
distinguished author of numerous books
on subjects of varied interest,
acknowledged authority on Tagore
Literature, Philosophy and Social Sciences,
pioneer leader of Social Welfare Administration
in the problem-province of West Bengal,
colourfully experienced with men and matters,
in whom the Platonic ideal of philosopher-rulers
seems to have been best personified,
the author feels highly privileged
to dedicate, with the deepest respect,
this modest dissertation on
Sociology of Planning.

Men are like rivers. The water is alike in all of them ; but every river is narrow in some places and wide in others ; here swift and there sluggish ; here clear and there turbid ; cold in winter and warm in summer. The same may be said of men. Every man bears within himself the germs of every human quality, displaying all in turn ; and a man often seems unlike himself—yet he still remains the same man.

Leo Tolstoy : *Resurrection*

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PREFACE

"Thus can the demigod, Authority,
Make us pay down for our own offence by weight.
The words of heaven ; — on whom it will, it will ;
On whom it will not, so : yet still 't is just."

On the 15th August, 1947, a young idealist student of the Final B. A. Economics Honours Class of the Asutosh College, Calcutta, the present researcher could not conjecture the full significance of the stirring message conveyed by Shakespeare, in the dialogue quoted from *Measure for Measure*, that Authority must always be ruthlessly impartial, rigidly neutral. Silly of that romantic youth, perhaps. But many grown-ups were equally so. In fact, on that day of days, when India stood at the threshold of Independence, every Indian, fresh and free, was ensconced in a drama the curtain over the final act of which is still to be drawn. Perhaps the immortal dramatist was hinting at the identification of Authority with Fate, as he did on many other occasions. Yes, Authority, with almost a divine omnipotence, keeps a strict vigil, secretly so often, on whoever gets clumsily involved with it.

Soon after proclaiming India as a Sovereign Republic, Jawaharlal Nehru, the great socialist leader, invited his countrymen to contribute their mite to the exacting task of all-round reconstruction of the vast sub-continent by means of a series of Five Year Plans. Planning offered the Indians a splendid opportunity of getting rid of much useless junks of underproduction and maldistribution. Nehru's theory of emotional identification of the masses with the phases of planning was an outcome of his deep faith in the Gandhian conception of Sarvodaya. His theory got an élan from his near-Marxist idea of a socialistic pattern of society. Now were invited people of all walks, classes and sub-classes, to work concertedly for the concrete realisation of an

objective equally common and dear to each of them. Mass-participation in the plans would surely have strengthened the infra-structure of an egalitarian society. Grass-roots of a People's Democracy could turn into thick evergreen thickets.

Never before in the history of democratic planning a nation displayed such strong devotion and dutifulness, so great an enthusiasm and enterprise as the Indians in a body did in the course of their pilgrimage to peaceful change. Gone the lethargy and lassitude of slavery, each Indian then became a Casabianca, ready to face the challenge of planning with the insouciance of Gary Sobers facing the fast ball. As a buffalo in a wallow, the common man did not fail to cultivate a spiritual *bonhomie* with others in the herd.

The *entente cordiale* which Indians, engaged in the implementation of the Five Year Plans at the initial stages, developed among themselves, was to fall a victim of infant mortality. Plan-targets turned out to be as mythical as the unicorn, as elusive as the pimpernel. Neither the bureaucracy nor the specialist-advisors, neither the leaders nor the masses, could capture the down-to-earth reality of the socio-economic cobweb of life of republican India. Sometimes the emphasis was on agriculture, sometimes on heavy industries ; sometimes the accent was on employment, sometimes on capital-formation. As if plan-targets were separate items to be taken up this time or that ! Curiosity killed the cat. Taking promiscuous strolls on the rough highway of plan-targets was about to kill the hard core of the "plan" itself. Even utterly irresponsible talks on "plan-moratorium", "plan-holiday", are overheard in many circles. Lured by the will-o'-the-wisp of deficit-financing, the government was maladvised by foreign-trained experts to pump in more and more paper-currency to boost a sluggish economy. The resultant inflationary spiral ate into the vitals of the Indian economy. National haemorrhage became alarming already—corruption had set in. An old, kempt India, about to leave its meandering ways, seemed going askew again.

The common man, naturally enough, too impatient with the long delay in reaching the much-publicised plan-targets, began swearing at the planners in a fit of pique. Lack of an effective channel of communication between the planners and those for whom the plan is meant, gradually widened the "credibility-gap".

This expanding hiatus of cynical skepticism is responsible for the quips of the common man that the planners recklessly indulge in jejune dialogues. The dragon of disbelief thus drags the disbelievers on and on as though over asphalted streets of a tropical town in summertime. Meanwhile, facing the kinks of a miserable fate, they tend to dismiss the Five Year Plans as mere platters of papers.

Observing closely the *modus operandi* of Indian Planning as a detached academician, the researcher became gradually convinced that the crisis in the theory and practice of Planning in India has got to be analysed from the etiological standpoint, from the standpoint, that is to say, of the philosophy of causation. This he has attempted in his **SOCIOLOGY OF PLANNING**.

Chapter I opens with the researcher's eagerness to determine the components of the social process like Planning and vindicate the social convergence of the knowables in Planning. Hence the Chapter has been entitled, "The Socio-epistemology of Planning". Planning has been elaborated as a *total* socio-personal process whose epistemic, that is, methodological, economic, political, cultural, psychological, administrative and such other components socially converge. The thesis seeks to uphold the radical view that an integrated approach to the problem of Planning is truly modern, sensible and acceptable. As the researcher weaves the pattern of his research along these lines, the details are unfolded slowly and steadily.

Chapter II, entitled "The Natural Science of Planning", inquires into the value and limitations of the Empirical Method involved in the social process of Planning. The researcher here requisitions the help of relevant up-to-date findings in different branches of social sciences of modern Indian, Western and American scholars as are available in this country. In this growth-oriented study of the Social Science of Planning, the value and limitations of the Comparative Method and the Method of Quantification, the *macro* and *micro* aspects of static and dynamic phases of Sociology as related to Planning and the value and limitations of field-work have been analysed with special reference to underdeveloped economies in general and India in particular. The researcher has attempted to trace some of the segments of

the sociometry and sociography of Planning in the wider background of growth-sociology, leaving the trail behind so that other worthy successors could complete the circle. He would cordially invite mathematically-minded, statistically-oriented social scientists to take up this important assignment, challenging, no doubt, but at the same time bound to be amply rewarding. Meanwhile, as a social philosopher, the researcher strikes a note of warning : mere data-orientation is not enough, value-orientation *ab extra* there must always be. Sterility of a mere tabulative style of social work, criticism and research is a dangerous blight arresting the growth of all social sciences, notably, modern economics, which, eager to establish econometrics as a fool-proof theoretical discipline, fails to deliver the goods as an applied policy-science. Ironically enough, as the formulae of such "metrics" become perfected more and more, only to be understood by Ph. D.'s and D. Sc.'s, the suffering man, blissfully ignorant of the rosy promises, stand mute and helpless before the "metricians". Sociometry, the present researcher likes to assure, can stem the tommy rot only when it is reinforced with "the sociology of governance". In other words, values and ideologies must have their due places in the socio-personal group-activity that Planning actually is.

Search for "the sociology of governance" inevitably leads the researcher to study "the Political Philosophy of Planning" which forms the subjectmatter of Chapter III. The ethics and pragmatics of Democratic Planning have been studied in the background of the liberal-humanist ideology of the Welfare State. It has been urged that unless Freedom is zealously safeguarded, Democratic Planning fails to be "democratic" and becomes estatist. Unless the legislature is allowed to keep full pace with the progressive trends in a socialistic type of planning, the transition from crude, imperfect capitalism to a perfect, stabilised form of socialism would be unnecessarily prolonged. As the experiences of socialist communes like those of Yugoslavia show, the course of legislation must also be a planned progression. Sociology of Planning of necessity involves "sociology of jurisprudence", an adequate synthesis of *lex* and *jus* suiting respective contingencies and exigencies.

Chapter IV offers a view of "the Political Economy of Plan-

ning". The practical problems following the policy of Mixed Economy have been noted from the sociological standpoint. Unless the public sector is properly planned, managed and allowed to expand gradually, it is held, transition from capitalism to socialism can never be hastened. Apart from the grim possibility of an emergent managerial revolution, workers might not remain peaceful enough. The problem of gigantism is always there. And worst of all—socialism might degenerate into a distorted version of state-capitalism. The remedy mainly lies, in the opinion of the researcher, in planning for a decentralised economy in the broader background of a socialistic system of society. He insists on the commendability of the Gandhian ideal of Sarvodaya which, even at the moment when preparations are afoot for celebrating the Gandhi Centenary, many choose to profess, but few care to practise.

Management of the developing Social Welfare State is a great task lying ahead of the planners. Chapter V ("The Public Administration of Planning") attempts to assess the role of bureaucracy in the plan-process. The British pyramidal-hierarchical model, followed by India so long, has been recommended. The Appleby Report, the Gorwala Report, the Gopalaswamy Ayyangar Report have been studied from a critical as well as sociologically constructive point of view. If bureaucracy fails to be sufficiently progressive, the whole socialistic plan-frame is bound to crumble and collapse. Centre-States relations in federal India now appear to be quite a hackneyed topic as too many students rush to pin their doctoral dissertations on this happy hunting-ground of professional politicians as well as amateur columnists. After all, Centre-States relations in Indian, as in any other federal, nearfederal, quasi-federal (or whatever be it), government, would remain a confrontation of varying, often perplexing attitudes of the parties concerned. Difficult it will always be to generalise more than that. Perhaps India, the historic land of tolerance, sympathy and synthesis, would show the way to a harmony of the opposing forces of centralisation and decentralisation. In the context of decentralisation, again, the present researcher has examined the working of Community Development Projects in general and at block level in particular. Mainly relying on first-hand field surveys of selected sectors, the researcher has chosen to close his story with some concrete suggestions.

The last Chapter rounds off the entire discourse with a "Prologue to a Unified Field Theory of Planning". This is a summing-up with a reflection on the plausibility of a social epistemology relating to the theory and practice of Planning. This marks the end of the journey for the present.

The Appendix lists some of the topics on which sociologists may, the writer hopes, undertake further fruitful research.

The researcher intends soon to recapture the threads of discussion broken up at this stage. Under the terms and conditions of the P.R.S. award, he is now busy with further researches for the third and final instalment of the main theme to qualify for the coveted Mouat Medal. This will be a "Sociography of Planning" wherein he would like to lay bare the cultural, architectural and psychological aspects of the Sociology of Planning. Unless economic planning runs *pari passu* with cultural planning, unless, that is to say, economic changes in the social strata are supplemented by corresponding cultural changes, social stratification would not be replaced by the desired social harmonisation leading to greater social mobility and social flexibility. Observations of experts like Verrier Elwin, Dr. Wadia, Prof. Haldane and Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose would be useful in this connection. Similarly, architectural aspects of planning relating to housing, designing, modelling and the like are no less important. Beauty and Utility must be harmonised. Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji's "Social Function of Art" would, surely, be the basis for work in this line. The psycho-symbolic aspects of Planning, concerned, for example, with the psychic impact of slogans (like "grow more food", "save the Plan"), posters and other audio-visual aids of propaganda, making the people plan-minded and plan-conscious, the herd instinct and the crowd instinct sometimes found operative in group-activities like Planning, would be items of study and research in this connection.

SOCIOLOGY OF PLANNING was originally accepted as a thesis for the award of the Premchand Roychand Studentship of Calcutta University in Letters for 1960. The first recipient of the P.R.S. in Sociology, the writer worked out this thesis independently.

In 1866, Mr. Premchand Roychand, a famous Bombay merchant, bequeathed to the University of Calcutta the princely

gift of Rs. 2 lakhs to be invested in 5% Government securities so that out of the interest thus accrued, four studentships, two each in Letters and Science, could be instituted for promotion of high-level original research. These studentships are awarded to Research Scholars showing evidence of outstanding research in the fields of their specialisation. Two of the best theses submitted in all the Arts subjects and two such in all the Science subjects mentioned in the list for each odd year and for each even year are chosen for the award. Because of this highly competitive nature of the award, the P.R.S. is universally acknowledged as "the blue ribbon of the Calcutta University". Almost all the recipients of the award subsequently earned international fame and recognition in their own disciplines as distinguished researchers. Naturally, then, the standard of research for the award of the P.R.S. is exceptionally high. The University of Calcutta also honours the distinguished recipients of the P.R.S. by publishing their names in the University Calendar just after the names of Fellows. It is, indeed, a great privilege for the present researcher to enter into the galaxy of intellectual luminaries who, recipients of the P.R.S., have heightened the prestige of the munificent donor, the intellectual value of the award and the reputation of the University of Calcutta for advancement of learning, by strenuously pursuing their original researches in the course of their lifetime. May he remain a worthy follower of all these illustrious predecessors.

The writer was greatly inspired by the famous sponsors of the modern inter-disciplinary methodology,—Max Weber, Bertrand Russell and Karl Mannheim. Particular mention might be made of Weber's *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Soziologie und Sozialpolitik* and Mannheim's *Wissensoziologie* (which the author had the privilege to study in original German) and *Man and Society in an age of reconstruction*. He was assisted by Frau Irmgard, his teacher of German.

Exactly the same excellent socio-epistemic synthesis could be noticed, in some form or other, in the thought-system of great Indian social scientists like Acharyya Brojendranath Seal, Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji and Prof. Dhurjoti Prasad Mukhopadhyay. To them the author offers his profound respect. His elder brother, Prof. Makhanlal Mookerjee, M.A., P.R.S. of the Department of Philosophy, Jadavpur University, a dear disciple of Acharyya

Brojendranath, helped the author in his quest for the totality of social sciences which finds its clearest manifestation in the socio-personal group-activity that Planning actually is.

The author thanks Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji and Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, distinguished sociologists, who acted as adjudicators for this thesis. It is a pity that the thesis which Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji so highly recommended, could not be personally handed over to him in its published form, due to his sudden death at Lucknow on the 24th August, 1968, just a few days before its publication. How warmly he could have welcomed the copy ! Some day even his universally circulated and applauded volumes would perhaps perish, his papers might have peeled, his details faded and appear undone. In a better India, these might have lasted longer ! But the great tradition of high-level original research that he has built up step by step can never die. This makes him live gloriously as long as Sociology lives in the world.

Dedicating the book to Sri Hiranmay Banerjee, formerly of the Indian Civil Service, now Vice-Chancellor, Rabindra Bharati University, the author not only pays his profound respect for a great philosopher-administrator, a humanist-educationist of distinction, and an accepted authority on Tagore Literature and Tagore Philosophy ; but the dedication also acknowledges his sincere efforts due to which the book could see the light of day at long last. He it was who so kindly permitted the book to be published by the Rabindra Bharati University with liberal financial assistance from the University Grants Commission assigned to it. This sociological commentary on Indian development projects, the author hopes, would surely receive his blessings, particularly when it is recalled that he himself pioneered the launching of these projects as the former Development Commissioner, Government of West Bengal. Indeed, his recent sociologically-oriented field-work study, "Experiments in Rural Reconstruction", mainly coloured with his wide experiences as the topmost leader of West Bengal's developmental administration, remains for the researcher a perennial source of interest and inspiration.

From Dr. Satyendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (London), now, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, the author, as his pupil, had the proud privilege to learn the fundamentals of Economics

twenty-two years ago. Since then he has encouraged the author, with warm affection and valued advice, to take up various themes of research, including this sociological enquiry into the activities of Planning. The author proposes to utilise his valuable research-work, embodying the findings of the socio-economic survey of Calcutta and Greater Calcutta, sponsored by the Planning Commission, Government of India, under his leadership, while finalising the subsequent study of rur-urban patterns of planning involving controversies like conurbation.

The author also takes the opportunity to thank the authorities of the University Grants Commission, New Delhi, for providing funds out of which this fact-finding and evaluative social survey could reach the wider circle of fellow-researchers,—social scientists, social workers and social welfare administrators—in a printed form.

Dr. Van J. Lund, Director of the Netherlands Bureau of Social Statistics, kindly offered at the disposal of the researcher many relevant facts and figures without the support of which parts of his observations would have run the risk of being merely personal, subjectively suggestive and occasionally tendentious.

The numerous field-workers, sample-surveyors and enthused officials who provided the researcher with valuable *expertise*, but who, out of sheer modesty and impersonality, preferred to remain anonymous, contributed no less to the successful progress of the present research-project.

His dear old classmate, Prof. Ashoke Mustafi, Head of the Department of Politics, Barasat Government College, was a source of delightful intellectual companionship in this as in all previous works of the author. The author recollects with pleasure how on many pleasant evenings they gathered together to discuss various related aspects of the problem of Planning in cosy sylvan surroundings of the Dhakuria Lakes far from the madding crowd.

With infinite patience, the author's wife, Srimati Priti Mookerjee checked up the index even in the midst of pressing household preoccupations.

Ignoring the boredom and botheration of deciphering many additions and alterations of a fastidious author who so often

gets fussy over semantics and syntactics, Shri Bijon Sarkar neatly and accurately typed the entire manuscript.

Sri Tarun Das, Art Teacher of the Drama Department of the Rabindra Bharati University, must be thanked for his great interest and active help in beautifully mounting the layout of the flyleaf and the jacket of the book.

SANGIT BHAVAN

RABINDRA BHARATI UNIVERSITY
CALCUTTA

SOBHANLAL MOOKERJEA

Dated the 26th August, 1968

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SOCIOLOGY OF PLANNING

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIO-EPISTEMOLOGY OF PLANNING

A HISTORICAL INTERLUDE

The middle of the nineteenth century was the dawn of social reform by means of various planned attempts. That period signalled the end of the *laissez-faire*, specially in various parts of Europe. The replacement of the negative concept of the police-state by the positive doctrine of the welfare state is a by-product of these planning activities. The free hand of the employers to exploit the labourers was cut short by numerous state-interventions. Factory acts, slow but steady march of the movement for extension of the franchise and the rise of trade-unions as the feeders of nascent labour-movements gradually brought the State in the panoramic amphitheatre of social reconstruction. No longer were the labourers contented with a drab life of meek servitude. Fortunately, countries like England, though after a great deal of delay, could stem the tide of this poor-class unrest by reformistic legislation. But the rulers of many countries refused to see the writings on the wall. The poor, helpless, exploited 'Russian boors' organised a concerted revolutionary upsurge right in the twentieth century. The historical moral of the French Revolution repeating itself, could not save the Czar and his followers. The Marxist leaders who led the revolution in Russia, eager to bring about a thorough social change in Bolshevik Russia within a very short span of time, found that this could be done only through a series of social, economic, political plans. Organising a very strong, ruthless internal power-system, they tried to

hasten this all-round social change in Russia with the human-factor, the time-factor, the resources-factor as their helpmates. They built up a series of concentric social circles round the central politico-economic ideology of Marxist communism. Planned socio-politico-economic development came to rotate around the vortex of time. Beginning from violent revolution, the Russian planners of the reconstruction of society began to adopt evolutionary techniques of planning in so far as they thought that a miracle cannot be achieved all on a sudden except by the Aladdin's Lamp. Time must be properly spaced, resources adequately allocated. Man and Nature must be geared to spin a delicate, multi-coloured social fabric.

Soviet Russia is internally a centralist state. Many Russian leaders argue that a strong, monolithic State with one party, one ideology and one authority, is the *sine qua non* for planned, all-round social development. Critics of this pattern of social planning retort that liberty is the price the Russians have to pay for this experimentation. But one point nobody can deny. Soviet Russia reached a summit of technological advancement from which she is now in a position to explore the Outer Space so long hidden from human knowledge. Sputniks, Mutniks and Luniks are achievements any nation may boast of.

Prior to the second World War, Kemal Ataturk's Turkey, Hitlerite Germany and Mussolini's Italy adopted social planning the pattern of which was much like the Russian. Kemal, as the supreme 'Ghazi' or the dictator of Turkey, attempted to revolutionize every aspect of the life of a contemporary Turk by his fiat. This process may be summed up as secularisation and etatisation of the nascent Ottoman State shorn of its oriental glamour and imperialist tradition. While the new Anglicised life of the Turkish Moslem is, materially, better than before, many critics question Kemal's right to plan the cultural and mental drilling of the Turks in the way he did.

Hitler, as the Führer, loved to characterise his social planning as a sort of Socialism, — National Socialism. To be fair to the Marxist Russians, it must be admitted that Hitlerian Nazism was far from being Socialism in its proper sense of the term. At

best, it was a sort of vulgarised oligarchic state-system in which sovereignty was deposited with a band of adventurous, imperialistic vain-glorious fortune-hunters, faddistic or sadistic. Mussolini's technique of Fascist planning was no better.

Against the technique of totalitarian planning of the Soviet Russian type or the Turkish-German-Italian type as described above, stands the American type of socio-politico-economic planning on the basis of a system of free enterprise. After winning freedom, the American people were economically no better than the poor, exploited millions who swelled the rank of revolutions in the thirties of the nineteenth century in Europe. Nor was the contemporary American picture any brighter than the Soviet Russian immediately following the Russian Revolution of 1917. But America marched ahead with a grim determination, united by the common bond of a singular patriotic spirit, by a libertarian government, a co-operating society and bountiful Nature. Her policy of isolation in the formative period of her history enabled her to concentrate her efforts upon the sole aim of development, material, spiritual, cultural. To-day, she is the solid match against Soviet Russia, challenging the all-round superiority of the communist type of social planning placed against the technique of democratic planning of the Americans.

England began to enact various social welfare legislations in the nineteenth century. In the early part of the nineteenth century, however, the Cabinet of Castlereagh opposed the labour movement tooth and nail. But the Reform Act of 1832, the progress of the Chartist movement and many other reformist, liberal policies supported by Gladstone soon contributed to the shaping of the history of the nineteenth century England as the Victorian Golden Age of Reform.

The rise of the Labour Party in the twentieth century is a significant phenomenon in English liberalist history ; for, the Labourites only intensified the liberal programmes for all-round social reform of England and gave them a new direction, leadership and theoretical bias. But even after the complete eclipse of the Liberal Party, they were found to be doctrinaire politicians, more or less. They could not be taken as timid, hesitant or apolo-

getic, though. They could just get no opportunity to apply their liberal, socialist doctrines to practice. This opportunity they got after the second World War when England was, for some time, inclined to socialism. The Labour Party formed the government for the first time in 1945, backed by the absolute majority of their party in the Parliament. In the course of its brief, but eventful, official tenure, it enacted socialist laws like the nationalisation of the Bank of England and of the Iron and Steel Industry of England. Still now, though overshadowed by the ruling Conservative Party, it believes in a policy of evolutionary, democratic type of socio-politico-economic planning for England previously championed by the Fabians only.

One of the most remarkable instances of the all-round transformation of a nation, from the quagmire of post-war devastation to the highway of prosperity by a rediscovery or recovery of the national potentials through planned development, is furnished by the Federal Republic of Germany. Soviet critics minimise the extent of this prosperity of the Federal Republic of Germany by saying that this could be possible only through the external financial and capital aid from the U. S. A. who wants to use her as a rearmed buffer-zone to fight against any possible aggression from the Soviet-sponsored East Germany and other Russian satellites. The Federal Republic of Germany, Soviet leaders argue, is only a bulwark in the Russo-American cold war. But the fact it is that the prosperity of the Federal Republic of Germany is tremendous and the way of her achieving this enormous material success through the technique of democratic planning is worth studying.

As the youngest big democracy, India is now treading her way through the deep forest of complexities, social, political, economic. Determined in assuring her children of the promise of a better, richer social life, she too, has adopted the policy of preparing all-round social planning. The experiences she is now facing, are, in many cases, parallel to those of the countries who have followed and are still following, the road to planned development. She is empirically fortunate. She has before her the vast wealth of experiences of the countries who have planned and are

still planning. Much research has been undertaken and are also being undertaken in many planning countries on the theory and practice of planning. The present researcher proposes to examine the social, political and administrative implications of economic planning with special reference to planning in India in the light of the vast experiences the planning countries have so far gathered.¹ He is conscious of the limitations of such a research-project. Many governments, including the Government of India, do not always like to divulge the inner issues of the planning process even in the present age of open diplomacy. Many of the recommendations which experts offer for obtaining better results in the planning-function, do not suit the social climate of India.

The social equilibrium is a resultant of various forces, pulling one another and are being pulled themselves. Fundamentally, this is a constantly shifting equilibrium of the many competing and contradictory forces of human nature. To understand the net impact of economic planning on these forces would need the services of a consultant expert in each relevant branch of social sciences. Such a genius is a rare specimen in view of the rapid development in each branch of social sciences leading to increased

¹ Being concerned with the problem of the enforcement of 'total' peace, the U. N., through its various agencies, has undertaken many such pilot research-projects covering the study of the multidimensional phases of social planning. Any cursory glance over the catalogue of the U. N. publications would convince the social researcher of this fact. Most important publications, from this point of view, include the following : U. N. E. S. C. O. — *Urbanization in Asia* ; U. N. E. S. C. O. — *Traditional Cultures in South East Asia* ; U. N. E. S. C. O. Research Centre at Calcutta — *Social implications of industrialisation in Southern Asia* ; U. N. E. S. C. O. Research Centre at Calcutta — *Social implications of industrialisation in Asia* ; U. N. E. S. C. O. Research Centre at Calcutta — *Social implications of industrialisation in Africa* ; Likert and Harjes (under the auspices of the U. N.) — *Some applications of behavioural research* ; U. N. — *Press, film, radio* ; U. N. — *The race concept* ; U. N. — *The teaching of philosophy* ; U. N. — *The teaching of social science in the United Kingdom* ; F. A. O. — *Co-operative thrift, credit and marketing in economically underdeveloped countries*. The present researcher has profitably utilised these reference-materials along with other pamphlets, treatises, reports and journals in the course of discussing the social implications of economic planning in India. He has acknowledged the use of these sources in the relevant places whenever any such occasion calls for such acknowledgment.

specialisation, in the course of which each becomes a highly streamlined model of social and intellectual discipline.

But this is no reason for not conducting any research on the social implications of economic planning with special reference to India. One may naturally be excused if one enjoys some amount of intellectual satisfaction from such research even if 'knowledge for knowledge's sake' is cited as the goal of the study of social sciences. The role of the social scientist, however, does not end here. He must, as much as possible, strive for making some contribution, however modest it may be, to the uphill task of making the country better. Theoretical as well as practical considerations must encourage him to proceed, cheer him up at each stage. The peak may be steep, but the mountaineer must climb.

COMPONENTS OF THE SOCIAL PROCESS

Sociological analysis of planning lays down the important fact that planning embraces the totality of human experience. The whole gamut of social planning expresses itself through an infinite series trying to ascertain the nature and position of the congeries of experiences which throb in the varied and colourful human personality. Sociologically thus viewed, planning, as a political activity, does not refer to any isolated extraneous reality but touches numerous parts of the social *milieu*. As Sabine points out, "Reflections upon the ends of political action, upon the means of achieving them, upon the possibilities and necessities of political situations, and upon the obligations that political purposes impose is an intrinsic element of the whole political process. Such thought evolves along with the institutions, the *agencies* of government, the moral and physical stresses to which it refers and which, one likes at least to believe, it in some degree controls." A broad perspective of Politics, Sabine further suggests, proves that "on the one hand political theory has always been a part of philosophy and science, an application to politics of the relevant intellectual and critical apparatus which is at the moment available. And on the other hand, it is a reflection upon morals, economics, government,

religion, and law — whatever there may be in the historical and institutional situation that sets a problem to be solved.”²

In one of his illuminating recent works,³ the late Professor Barker drew the attention of all students to the epistemic unity which binds the different branches of social science. He declared, “I am not a philosopher ; but I could not refrain from some considerations of ethics, which must always be vitally connected with politics. I am not an economist ; but I have been driven to think about economics, which can never be absent from any political inquiry. I am not a student of natural science ; but I have found it impossible to refrain from reflecting on the methods and the achievements of natural science, which are deeply affecting the life of every political community.” He said, further, “. . . the State in its nature is . . . an institution of grown men — a university, and more than a university — in which different modes of culture can live and interact. Similarly, it is a place of the mixture and interaction of different factors of economy ; similarly, too, it is a place of the co-existence and interplay of different currents of political opinion and different political parties. Politics, economics, culture — the political problem, the economic problem, the cultural problem — all of these raise the same issues, and all these are interconnected.”

The empirical analysis of political behaviour by Lasswell leads him on to an empirico-symbolic view of the practical problems of social sciences, specially of the problems of Politics.⁴ “Each sentence,” he remarks, “is itself part of reality but refers to a larger reality. Standing alone, however, such a sentence is cryptic and fragmentary. The function of science is to complete it.” And it is to complete the unity of social behaviour-patterns in the background of a wider epistemic unity that social sciences have grown up. Lasswell illustrates his contention in favour of an epistemic unity by showing how psychology is connected

² Sabine — *A History of Political Theory*, preface.

³ Barker — *Reflections on Government*, preface, vi, p. 327. Also his *Principles of Social and Political Theory*, pp. 276-277.

⁴ Lasswell — *The analysis of political behaviour*, preface (p. vii), pp. 2, 10, 13, 196, 232-234.

with morals and politics in the spheres of the acquired, derived and implemented moral values of the human society. He then tries to present social science as a general communicative science. Following the lead of Charles Morris, he arrives at three epistemic relationships among the different branches of social science — between words and words (logic or syntactics) ; between words and their events of reference (semantics) ; between practical causes and practical results (pragmatics). Social sciences, he next shows, are concerned with the study of various 'social areas' like the public as a 'psychological area', government as an 'organisation area'. The more social sciences become really 'scientific' and the more there is retrenchment of unnecessary words, the more will there be confidence in naturalising the alien words to receive their fullest communicative value and enrich their communicative power. Though Lasswell's theory, in its extreme form, may make social sciences rather narrow nominalistic branches of knowledge with an air of mere suggestibility, his plan clears up the problem as to why there should be a socio-epistemic significance in every social activity. Behaviour-patterns express themselves through the medium of social actions, passing the closed closets of individual actions or group actions. They may be studied as practical causes giving rise to practical results. They may, at last, be brought within definite categories, however complex the relevant social context might be. Thus grows up a social system connecting the divergent items in the social process and each social science develops interrelationships with each other as communicative media, as cause-and-effect interactions and as practical events or practicable propositions. Each social science is primarily, a study of man and secondarily, a study of the State or any other social group or association. Man is the 'molecule' of all social events or actions. Social sciences may be many ; but Man is one. Humanism establishes a socio-epistemic unity among them and among their common practical activities like planning.⁵

All social activities are now analysed by the sociological

⁵ Lipson, Leslie — *The Great Issues of Politics*, Chapter entitled "The social context of politics."

method. The social universe is imagined as a sort of 'multiverse,' as a centre of gravity of interpersonal and group dynamics and class-hostility. Denying the wholly autonomous nature of the social process, the sociologist of knowledge considers the social process as a dynamic emergent of class-antagonism. Classes are imagined as galvanizers of social dynamics.⁶ Planning exerts a tremendous influence on classes as catalytic agents.

Planning is a type of social action which tries to harmonise the different, often conflicting, often co-operating individual actions or group actions for securing socially desirable results. This is done by requisitioning the social services of general science and technology. To-day, science has unified the world by its numerous technical benefits like the wireless, the teleprinters, the jet planes. Science has invented, and is also inventing, various machines which simplify work and reduce the drudgery and hazards of manual labour. Labour-saving devices are becoming increasingly popular and universally accepted. Man, in a planned, developing human society, is now able to get more leisure. Modernising the material life of man, science is also trying to revolutionise his outlook. The result is the slow but sure development of a rational methodology for a rationalised layout of the human society. More and more, differences between classes, races, castes, religions, nationalities, are vanishing away under the strong pressure of science and technology. The community-factor, the community-sentiment, the community-leadership and such other communal aspects are emerging as the byproducts of the scientific age.⁷ Moreover, science is very quickly changing the patterns of public administration. Management of public enterprises in a planned society is engaging the atten-

⁶ The importance of the *class* in a planned society will be discussed in Chapter II of the present thesis in so far as such a discussion becomes relevant to the explanation of the concepts of macro-static, macro-dynamic and micro-static and micro-dynamic sociology of planning.

⁷ Bertrand Russell — *The impact of science on society* ; Barber — *Science and the social order* ; Bernal — *The Social Function of Science* ; Harrison, Brown, Bonner and Weir — *The Next Hundred Years* (California Institute of Technology) ; Friedmann — *Industrial Society* ; Mayo — *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* ; Plumb and Roylance — *Industrial Demo-*

tion of social scientists as well as scientist-technicians.⁸ A 'scientific revolution' is the achievement of the social scientists, as planners, in the atomic age.⁹ But while science, in the nuclear age, is negatively threatening the future peace among the nations, there is no doubt that positively, it is a serviceable factor in a planned society, increasing the efficiency of production and output, reducing the time-lag in the rather long span of developmental planning. For a nascent planned economy like India, these implications merit a full study.¹⁰

Many American social scientists have specially pointed out that a marching technology and dynamic public administration play complementary roles in shaping the socio-political process involved in the planning business. This is why these social

cracy; Scott and Lynton — *The community factor in modern technology* (A. U. N. publication); Winnington — *Democracy and industry*; Walker — *Steeltown*. The socially significant observations of these writers will be analysed, specially, in the context of the Indian planned society, in Chapters II, III and IV of the present work.

⁸ Cole — *Enterprise in its social setting*; Dubin — *World of Work: industrial society and human relations*; Gouldner — *Patterns of industrial bureaucracy*; Taylor — *Testimony in scientific management*; Reinhard — *Work and authority in industry*; Waldo — *The Administrative State*; Drury — *Scientific management*; Lehrer — *Work Simplification*; McCrensky — *Scientific manpower in Europe*; Moore — *Industrialisation and Labour: Social aspects of economic development*; Tredgold — *Human Relations in modern industry*; Yoder — *Personal management and industrial relations*. The socially significant observations of these writers will be analysed in Chapter IV of the present work dealing with the managerial problems of the Indian planning system.

⁹ Presidential address of Prof. James Pollock of the Michigan University (entitled *Political Science in the Nuclear Age*) at the Fourth World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Rome, September, 1958. (Published in the *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. XX, No. 1, 1959). Also, Hoyle — *A Decade for Decision — A look into the future of civilisation*; Polanyi — *Science, faith and society*; Bertrand Russell — *The prospects of industrial civilisation*, also his *Science and Social Institutions*; Toynbee — *Democracy in the atomic age*. The socially significant observations of these writers will be analysed in Chapters II, III, IV and V of the present work.

¹⁰ The impact of technology on a planned economy will be discussed in Chapter IV of the present study.

scientists insist on resource-classifications of the planned society, on surveying the productive wealth of the country like land, forests, minerals and, for an advanced technology, the potentials of atomic energy. In the classification or differentiation of the resources of the planning society, economics must join hands with technology. Even if no further planning is desired, the policy of conserving the resources is no less important. It is the experience of American social scientists that each aspect of conservation, — the preservation of wilderness zones, watershed developments, the claims of townplanning and urbanisation as against the claims of conservation, — speaks for more co-ordinated planning of local as well as national projects. Here, also, town-planning, on a progressive, socio-economic basis, can be successful if science, technology and economics join hands.¹¹

Planning is a social process with an economic bias. No other social activity brings the interrelationship between economics and other social sciences into bolder relief than the process of planning.

G. D. H. Cole thinks that economics was an isolated branch of social science till the era of *laissez-faire*.¹² With the growth of the concept of the Welfare State and the Social Service Idea, economics is now considered as the most effective tool for actualising the socio-political ideals of the Welfare State. Promotion of socialism and sociological thought, Cole says, has forged a unity between economics and applied sociology.

“There is hardly at all in any vital sense one group of things, or even of problems,” says Cole, “which we can call political and another which can be called economic. . . . Political activity is, in fact, largely a *means* of handling economic issues ; and while not all issues are economic, it is almost impossible to find an issue of any magnitude that has not important economic

¹¹ Ackerman and Löf — *Technology in American water development* ; also, Jarrett (Edited) — *Perspectives on conservation* ; also, his *Science and Resources — Prospects and implications of technological advance*.

¹² Cole — *Some relations between Political and Economic Theory*,

aspects.”¹³ Economics and politics are Siamese twins. A planning policy cannot but influence each of them simultaneously.

At all stages of society, and more so, in the stages of developmental planning, political activities are concerned with the public expenditure of money. As a means of bringing about desired social changes, Marxism is, according to Cole, ‘at once a political and economic theory’. It correlates two phases of social change, political and economic. If politics takes note of the different forms of government under different civilisations and different economic fundamentals, it becomes ‘historical sociology’. Planning seeks to bring about social change of a sweeping nature, raising the society from an abnormally low level to a level of ascendancy. To the historical sociologist, therefore, the gradual changes in the relationships between the political machinery and political ideology on the one hand, and the changing economic techniques and economic ideology on the other in a progressive planned society, assume a great importance.

With valuable planning experience to his credit as a member of President Hoover’s Research Committee on Recent Social Trends, of President Roosevelt’s National Resources Board and the Social Science Research Council’s Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel, Charles Merriam observes¹⁴ that planning is, ultimately, a problem of imposing a system of social controls on individual or group action. Unless a broad view of the problem of this social control is taken, the nature and significance of political control in a planned society cannot be fully understood. The planner must look at the political, alongside of other systems which jointly build up ‘the network of human control and organisation’ in the planned society.

Planning means the minimisation of social wastage. Hunger and sickness, old age and helplessness are social factors as much due to economic factors as to socio-political factors. The desirability of a concept of doctrinaire nationalisation of industries

¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 3-8, 65 and 76.

¹⁴ Merriam — *The role of politics in social change*. Also, Mannheim — *Man and society in an age of reconstruction*, Part V, section III.

to plan the economy of the State has its political as well as economic aspects.

Planning is a technique for bringing about the desired socio-political change through a change in economic factors. This involves, at many stages of planning, changes in the habits of the people for whom the plan is meant. In other words, those who are concerned with socio-political changes following economic planning, must be prepared to study the formation and un-formation of habits. In other words, the modifiability of habits of the people in relation to social and political changes as a result of economic planning, must receive the full attention of the planner.

From these considerations, Merriam is in a position to make the generalised statement : "The basic troubles of our time are not fundamentally 'economic' only, but are scientific and technological, territorial-racial, socio-political, philosophical-psychological."¹⁵

Beard thinks¹⁶ that economic groups form the political structure of the State. One need not be a Marxist to understand the great part which the *class*, as an economic group, plays in the social process. If any amount of economic equality is to be brought, there must be political equality in the sense of a balance of power between the divergent classes, groups and associations in the State.

Modern American resource-analysts are of opinion that planning is concerned with strategic factors of development like regional socio-politico-economic conditions. The development of these factors is to be considered as public policy issues by the planner-State. Economic and political factors are also mingled with each other in so far as they all affect the ownership and use of factors of production (like the ownership and use of land in rural and urban areas).¹⁷

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 59.

¹⁶ Beard — *The economic basis of politics*.

¹⁷ Burns — *Comparative economic development* ; Williamson and Buttrick — *Economic Development : Principles and Patterns* ; Barlowe — *Land Resource Economics : The Political Economy of Rural and Urban Land Resource Use* ; Houghton (Edited) — *Economic developments in a plural society : Studies in the border region of the Cape Province (Cape Town)*.

Two great modern sociologists, Parsons and Smelser, have brought out a very valuable treatise outlining the role of politics and economics, as social sciences, in the sociology of planning.¹⁸ 'Congruences' between the different branches of social sciences arise, in their opinion, because of the participation of all of them, as categories, in 'the performance-sanction schema'. A feeling of mutuality reigns in system-types and social sub-systems. The economics of exchange is an obvious example. An economic concept of welfare is imposed upon the planned social system which colours its functional structure and acts as a calculus integrating the different social and individual variables. The internal structure and external boundaries of the planned social system are closely related. Planning institutionalises economic values and the economic motives in so far as it affects the markets and the organisations of production in the planned society. That is to say, it places economic processes in their social setting. Planning involves social change and any change in the economic system as a result of planning-policy expresses itself as a corresponding structural difference in the planned society as a whole. A planner must, as a sociologist, consider the political or economic impact of planning on the structural differentiation of the society going to be planned.

Statistics is the foundational base for the social make-up of planning. Programming in a planned society is impossible without statistical analysis. Data-collection and tabulation finally lead to the formulation of the objectives to be realised with the help of the resources at the disposal. Accordingly, the time-span may be slashed or the investment-velocity slowed down. Incidentally, the process of data-collection reveals certain socio-politico-economic features of the community going to undertake planning. It also reveals certain behaviour-components of the social process going to be influenced by planning. Unless, therefore, statistical field-work is undertaken on a broad basis, socio-politico-economic concepts useful to the planner as conceptual categories will be lacking. Fruitful and meaningful analysis of the planning objec-

¹⁸ Parsons and Smelser — *Economy and Society : A Study in the integration of economic and social theory.*

tives would be impossible, linear programming with reference to the time-span and resource-potential at the disposal would be no better than romantic day-dreaming. Without statistics, that is to say, the planner misses the bus.

Planning is a process of total scheming of the entire social life of the community. So gathering of social facts is vital to planning. As human personality is multi-dimensional, individual facts are also bound to be bewilderingly varied. Social facts, either as the averages or the H. C. F. of individual facts or as the dominant characteristics in the behavioural pattern, cannot also be absolutely and precisely expressed like a theorem of co-ordinate geometry. This is why statistical surveying and vigorous field-work are increasingly being adopted by the planners. The comprehensiveness of statistics as a guide to the planner may be easily understood in this context. The Indian census of 1961 turned into a broad socio-politico-economic survey of the group studied. The National Council of Applied Economic Research has undertaken a comprehensive survey of savings of urban household in India to which statistical devices like random sampling were widely applied.¹⁹

The enormous progress of Sigmund Freud's psycho-analysis and developments of social psychology and character-psychology have enabled modern sociologists to analyse many complex issues connected with the reorganisation of the society. Social psychology, as Graham Wallas says, is the 'entirely practical' behaviour-analysis when the psycho-analyst "wants to find out how a normal man will behave in the presence of a given stimulus" and how far, by changing the stimulus, the behaviour of the person concerned can be changed.²⁰ A micro-static and micro-dynamic study of social sciences would need psychological guidance. Otherwise, the relative position of the class, the group and the association in the web of the modern State cannot be fully under-

¹⁹ *Vide* the article of Dr. P. S. Lokanathan in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated September 27, 1960. The suitability of the statistical method in planning will be discussed in Chapter II of the present work.

²⁰ Quoted by Barker (from the letter of Graham Wallas written to him) in his *Reflections on Government*, p. 105.

stood.²¹ Many modern psycho-analysts, specially, those of America, are of opinion that the primary technique which the planner, as a social scientist, should be the most concerned with, is the method of tension-analysis.²²

The process of democratisation of the modern human life is a psychological one : a transition from primitive force to rational persuasion.²³ Democratic planning depends, to no mean extent, on the persuasive nature of planning-tactics. The Indian proletariat, for example, suffers from a morbid anxiety of uncertainty whenever they are, in any way, lectured on the advantages of adopting new techniques for production or cultivating new types of habits. The central economic problem of a planned society is the problem of removing unemployment. Psychologists would advise that unless this economic problem is solved, society would be sharply divided into frustrated youths, desperate demagogues and sly fortune-hunters who would not hesitate to drive the ship of State towards the backwaters of authoritarianism. The democratic society would be flooded with iron-willed dictators, despondent youths and delinquent desperadoes.

Freud has opened up the vast vista of the unconscious in the human mind. To-day, psychologists study the two main behavioural components : the conscious and the unconscious. Planning is a means of social conditioning of the unconscious, often harmful, reflex actions of the individual, of making the

²¹ This aspect of the planned society will be fully discussed in Chapter II of the present treatise.

²² Bellows — *Psychology of personnel in business and industry* ; Chambers — *Psychology of the industrial worker* ; Dahl, Mason and Lazarfield — *Social Science Research on Business* ; Dubin — *World of work : Industrial society and human relations*, also his *Human Relations in Administration*, Part I ; Drucker — *The new society — the anatomy of the industrial order* ; Blackburn — *Psychology and the social pattern* ; Leighton — *Human Relations in a changing world : Observations on the use of the social sciences* ; Lauterbach — *Man, motives and money : Psychological frontiers of economics* ; Selltitz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook — *Research Methods on Social Relations* ; Shartle — *Executive performance and leadership* ; Tiffin and McCormick — *Industrial Psychology* ; Woodworth — *Dynamics of behaviour* ; Katona — *Psychological analysis of economic behaviour*.

²³ Whitehead — *Adventures of ideas*.

individual less ego-centric but more socio-centric. If the plan fails to arouse sufficient enthusiasm among the people for whom the plan is meant, then the planner must change the extent of the stimulus the plan was originally designed to discharge. Herein lies the value and utility of propaganda in democratic planning. Audiovisual aids, specially, in a country of mass-illiteracy, are to be strengthened so that the people become sufficiently plan-conscious. Symbols like posters are to be designed, slogans like 'save the plan' are to be carefully devised, so that the changed stimulus produces the desired response. While occupational therapy is to cure the morbid, near-neurotic trends in the minds of the frustrated and the unemployed, recreational therapy is to be increasingly applied to build up healthy citizens with healthy bodies in a planned society. Differences of caste, creed, religion and province are to undergo a tough process of thorough social grinding through a plan of education, at once liberal and vocational. Liberal education would bring about the sort of ideal emotional integration among the people of the planned society without the sort of regimentation which totalitarian planning seeks to achieve through a process of forming the mass-mind and of mass mental drilling. New leaders of a new society would then complete the unfinished scheme of the planners in the years ahead. Leadership would evolve, travelling from the log cabin to the Parliament House, 'from Raj to Swaraj'.

THE SOCIAL CONVERGENCE OF THE KNOWABLES IN PLANNING

The social process, as the planner visualises it, is an endless whirl of facts and figures arising from the complementary or the contradictory behaviours as activities of the individual, the group and the association. The planner must find those out in so far as they are to be known for the specific purpose of bringing about a desired social change. Statistical field-work thus forms the basis of planning. It unfolds the extent of a problem to be solved by the planning process, the behavioural patterns and the magnitude of the stimulus to be discharged by the planning authority to modify them as desired. Planning, in a Welfare State, means

economic planning for greater material sufficiency, comforts and well-being. So, economics is the fulcrum against which the social lever of the planned society is placed. But economic planning is impossible without technology. The choice of the planning-terms for their ultimate categorisation, as far as possible, so that the ideological goal of the planning system may be stated in unambiguous terms, involves the planner in the intricacies of syntactics, semantics and pragmatics. Ideologies are to be decided and evaluated, facts and figures tabulated, policies to be administered. These need a certain amount of stimulus so that a certain amount of response may emerge from individuals, groups and associations.

No philosopher, indeed, has as yet been able to find out the ultimate epistemic unity amid the bewildering branches of Knowledge. Perhaps to seek such unity is to over-simplify and standardise the relevant personal and social issues in a 'multiverse' which is always in a state of flux. But such a comprehensive study of all socio-personal actions, causalities and consequences like the process of planning has its advantages. It shows the social reconstructor the limitations of each branch of Knowledge and proclaims the purpose of its study in relation to the socio-personal action to be changed by some external socio-political stimulus like planning. If the actions and behaviours of the individuals, groups and associations are not studied with reference to the socio-epistemic unity underlying the different branches of Knowledge as applied social sciences, such actions and behaviours would appear to be impulsive, erratic, disjointed. Even if no ultimate socio-epistemic relationship between the different branches of Knowledge as public-policy-sciences has been found out, its enquiry would at once lead the planner nearer that consummation. The scope and nature of a branch of social science may be ascertained more correctly; its limitations known more exactly.

The socio-epistemic relationship unifying all branches of Knowledge as public-policy-sciences, ultimately resolves itself into the problem of *Method* and the problem of *Telos*. All branches of social science converge to these two points. The

first problem poses itself as to why there are so many different branches of social science. The second one turns out to be the question whether there is any central purpose in the level of human consciousness as to why they are pursued.²⁴

²⁴ These problems in relation to socio-political activities like planning will be discussed in Chapters II and III.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURAL SCIENCE OF PLANNING

THE EMPIRICAL METHOD : PURE AND SYNTHETIC

Dunning characterises Aristotle as the Father of political science, because "he gave to politics the character of an independent science."¹ With a matter-of-fact and analytic bent of mind, Aristotle is engaged in extensive observation and minute analysis of objective facts, to mark out for each science a field of its own. Separation of ethics from politics is the main outcome of the analytical method which Aristotle applies to solve social problems. He thinks that the highest good of man is the perfect development of all his powers. This result, he emphasises, is not possible unless the *polis* or the State helps the citizens. Thus Aristotle considers politics as a pure science concerned with the absolute good of man and the absolute perfect State. Further, he treats politics as a practical science, after considering the constitutional and legal relations of actual men in actual societies. As an idealist, he describes the various forms of government as models for social reconstruction. As a realist, he discusses the methods of preserving them, even the worst of such forms, comparatively speaking. "The keen, cold analysis to which he (Aristotle) subjected the forms and motives of practical, social and political activity gave to reflection on this subject an individuality, a mould and a technique that it was never again to lose."² All this analysis of social problems from the point of view of an independent political science has been

¹ Dunning — *A History of Political Theories*, Vol. I.

² *Ibid.*

possible, because Aristotle develops an empirical bias towards studying social and political questions. He builds up a bridge between the conceptual and operational aspects of solving social problems.

Though Aristotle cannot be denied the claim of being the pioneer in the field of empirical methodology, the first systematizer of this methodology is Locke. Utterly indifferent to the contemporary religious and mystic trends of political thought, Locke holds out the anti-dogmatising, secular outlook of empiricism as the only hope for indicating satisfactory solutions of social problems. Distrusting the process of easy-going generalisations, he becomes a great opponent of anything passing for a self-evident truth. No idea, he declares, is innate, no belief, apart from evidence, valid ; for, even a false proposition, growing out of custom or habit, may seem to be obvious. "Undoubtedly", says Sabine, "Locke meant his attack on innate ideas to be a solvent for all kinds of prejudice, in morals and religion as well as in science."³ Being very profoundly influenced by the valuable developments in the field of mathematics and science on the eve of the Renaissance, he even claims that a demonstrative science, formally valid almost like geometry, could be conceived of. His empirical methodology is based on whatever the senses explain as agents of the human thought-process. In other words, his empiricism depends on a psychology according to which knowledge and behaviour of men are to be analysed with reference to the senses and according to which methodological rules deciding validity of generalisations from experience through the media of the senses, are to be laid down.

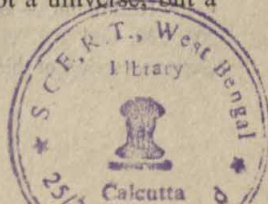
In recent times, American methodologists have propounded a new type of empiricism under the name of pragmatism. The names of William James and Dewey are mentioned as the most outstanding supporters of this neo-empirical methodology. James tries to solve the metaphysical problem of determining the ultimate reality in a bewildering, pluralistic universe. To him, things as they are, form, not a cosmos but a chaos, not a universe, but a

* Ibid, p. 530.

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'multiverse'. The pragmatic method, in such a world, he suggests, is to interpret every social notion like Matter, God and Reason "by tracing its respective practical consequences". Pragmatism is only a method. In James' words, "It has no dogmas and no doctrines save its method. It lies in the midst of our theories like a corridor in a hotel".

Some modern methodologists like Kaufmann, in thier quest for a valid methodology in social sciences, take their stand on pure empiricism.⁴ Kaufmann defines 'methodology' as "logical analysis of the rules of scientific procedure," supposing that "the logic of science (methodology) is the theory of correct scientific decisions." He now suggests that the emergence of a social science and its methodological validity are mutually exclusive processes. Any validation of a theory of social sciences must be in conformity with presupposed empirical laws which may contain value-terms but not value-judgments. "The complete formulation of a value judgment," according to Kaufmann, "reveals that it is an analytic proposition. . . . Being analytic propositions, value judgments cannot be part of the corpus of an empirical science, which consists exclusively of synthetic propositions. . . . Ambiguous terms should not, of course, be used in a science. However, if the ambiguity is removed by explicit reference to the presupposed system of axiological rules, there is no longer any reason to bar the use of value terms." Kaufmann then declares that a valid methodology in social sciences must totally ignore the subjective and situational factors like bias or prejudice of the social scientist himself. "Historical facts," he says, "cannot speak for themselves as far as causal relations among them are concerned ; they require an interpretation. This seems to involve subjectivity, but the interpretation has to be in conformity with presupposed theoretical laws, and these laws do not contain any reference to the historian and his perspective."

The deliberate application of the moral ideal involves considerations of human values and gives a 'false bias' to politics

⁴ Kaufmann — *Methodology of the social sciences*, specially, pp. 196, 200, 230, and 249. The present researcher has also consulted the original German version of this book,

by failing to distinguish its field from that of ethics and by undertaking enquiries, more ethical than political, into the nature of the good or the perfect State. Taking this line of argument, Catlin vehemently contends for a 'Non-Teleological Theory of Politics'.⁵ "Politics," he observes, "is a pure science, of which the abstract arguments take no cognizance, save strictly as hypotheses, of considerations of value ; it is for others to decide whether these arguments are useful or beneficial. . . . Politics is merely the science of the interrelations of human beings in society, a science quite impersonal. It is not therefore adverse to Ethics, since, as a science, it is irrelevant to Ethics."

Not only, according to Catlin, is Politics irrelevant to Ethics, but he thinks that Ethics is also irrelevant to Politics, because political science, as a study of political method, may reasonably be developed before there is unanimity, even approximately, on the choice of a final *value*.

What Catlin aims at in his "Non-Teleological Theory of Politics," is a very rigid application of empiricism to politics, which, instead of evaluating facts of experience underlying political conduct, will only admit reports about behaviour in certain political situations ; any sense of value or purpose, when present, will make no difference in the external political behaviour which will continue to exhibit the same characteristics even without such presupposition.

The recent symposium published by the U.N.E.S.C.O.⁶ points out that a completely satisfactory method in social sciences either in the sense of advancement of the mind towards the knowledge of the social reality or in the sense of rational workings of the mind in its search for the knowledge of this reality has not yet been found out. Supporting this social standpoint, it observes that "the best way to further the interests of political science seemed rather to lay emphasis on the ambiguities, confusions and difficulties which now exist in this field."

It is obvious that such a negative attitude towards the study

⁵ Catlin — *The Science and Method of Politics*, Part III.

⁶ U.N.E.S.C.O. — *Contemporary Political Science : A survey of methods, research and teaching*, introduction, pp. 4, 16 and 220.

of social sciences fails to provide a systematic basis for a reconciliation of the apparently opposed social facts and concepts. As such, a mere clarification of the social concepts involved in planning like law, liberty, democracy, growth and progress and without the relevant metaphysical and ethical background, remains a study in the usage and symbolism of words merely, which, to be fruitful, must be thought of in the context of a methodology rooted in some theory of Reality or other.

Even Aristotle himself, the pioneer in empirical research on social problems, could not help adopting a synthetic method, applying the fruits of research through observation and experience to study particular cases deductively. Induction helps him know the symptoms of the social disease, enables him to develop a social organon to administer therapeutic or remedial drugs.

Locke's methodology of pure empiricism has been much criticised. Pushed to its extreme form, it produces anomalies.⁷ When he tries to show that ethics can be empirically constructed, he stands for empiricism, pure and simple, no doubt. But when he thinks that this empirical ethics is as valid as geometry, he borrows, rather too generously, from the funds of the rationalist. In the field of social sciences, many such anomalies Locke himself cannot explain. He can strongly support civil liberty; but he has also to support the case for private property as a natural right.

Elliott holds that⁸ James' pragmatism denies the application of scientific determinism to human conduct; pushed to its extreme it lays stress on the power of auto-suggestion blinding the eyes to ills it cannot cure. Dewey's pragmatism, Elliott holds, "is much more the social utilitarianism of John Stuart Mill with, however, the individualism disappearing into an organic conception of group interaction, pluralistic in name still, but increasingly *solidariste* in tendency."

Pragmatism, Elliott says, in its extreme form, has given birth to values and ideologies of anti-intellectual irrationalism. It has become a philosophy of revolt and reaction with a cynical

⁷ Sabine — *A History of Political Theory*, Ch. XXVI.

⁸ Elliott — *The pragmatic revolt in politics*, pp. 27-30.

caricature of all rational principles and standards. It does not aim at a 'science of politics' based on abstractions. It is responsible, Elliott argues, for the rise of pluralism, syndicalism and even fascism in the field of modern social theory. All this growth of anti-intellectualism, Elliott rightly diagnoses, is due to the pragmatist's over-emphasis on *practice* as against *purpose*. He approves of Bertrand Russell's criticism that James fails "to provide any other than a subjective criterion for truth, and the practical translation of making one's truth prevail into the gospel of violence and the appeal to force".⁹

Synthetic empiricism, on the contrary, recognises a social purpose — the promotion of human happiness. Teleology and empiricism are elements to be synthesised. Every person, as a self-asserting moral agent, has a moral worth, a right to liberty and happiness as every other citizen must have. This social purpose makes synthetic empiricism a social criterion, something far above the pragmatist's mere 'subjective criterion for truth'. This explains why synthetic empiricism can alone become the basis of the democratic State and democratic planning while pragmatism becomes, in the hands of unscrupulous 'leaders,' a gospel for the totalitarian State.

Kaufmann's thesis on the methodology of pure empiricism is not tenable. Clarification of value-terms in social sciences depends on the quality of knowledge accumulated from different social sciences whose development, again, depended or depends on personal orientation of the social scientist. Again, evaluation of the axiological laws in human behaviour concerning the clarification of value-terms mentioned in such laws cannot be independent from the personal orientation of the social scientist. From these considerations, it may be concluded that scientific methodology cannot be separated from personal orientation in so far as it involves a judgment on existing human values.

There are other defects of pure empiricism. It holds the orthodox view that in scientific methodology, only empirical

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 20.

validation and logical cogency are sought. But in the methodology of social sciences, the *ethical justification* is always sought after. Again, empirical validity in social science is difficult to secure as the individuals may rarely allow them to be specimens for an objective study and review. This shows the limits of social science as an experimental study. There is another great defect of pure empiricism. The empiricist thinks that in constructing a scientific methodology, nothing should be taken for granted. The door should always be kept deliberately open for direct observation of the facts available. But even in an empirical methodology like that of planning, much is actually taken for granted. Thus, for example, human observation in field-work and sample-survey is taken as wholly dependable. Human faculties, sensory and intellectual, are here supposed to be infallible. Again, natural phenomena like climatic factors limiting planning, are supposed to be independent of its another constituent, that is, the rational faculty. So is the social process taken as if it is divorced from one of its components, that is, human reason.¹⁰

Methodology may be defined as the process of discovering the knower-knowing-known relations, that is, the relations between the personal *orientation* of the scientist, the *technique* of his data-collection and conceptualization or theory-building. The formulation of a purely normative, bias-free social science is thus very difficult.

A rigid empirical method cannot disclose the aim, the purpose, the *telos* which moral agents try to realise in the planning-process. It can disclose a direction in the evolution of the plan-frame ; but that is only a *direction*, a *change* in the external forms of the plan-frame and never the growth of consciousness or the realization or frustration of the ends of moral agents vis- vis the planning-process.

A completely conscious social action and an automatic social action may be objectively the same ; yet, they are widely different when the accompanying phenomena of conscious reflection and valuation of the planner are taken into account. Hence

¹⁰ This occurs in micro-static and macro-static considerations on planning, especially.

in his desire to be 'objective', Catlin has to relinquish much of the significant material concerning the planner's knowledge of the social conduct. Catlin's zeal for a dispassionate tabulation of facts may be appreciated in that planning, concerned as it is with the use of socially scientific knowledge, must employ a method which will bring that knowledge into conceptually formulated propositions. But no science can refuse to evaluate, at the same time, the factual material at its disposal. The fact that there is no unanimity in the choice of a final *value* cannot stand in the way of such evaluation, specially when a completely conscious social action comprehends, among its constituents, certain ethical premises preserving for the individual whatever is of value in a valuable social order. It is, therefore, impossible to remove this aspect of ethical conduct from social science as a science because of its profound immanent significance in the regulation of conduct and in the rightness of co-operation. Catlin, however, by way of an illustration, argues that the 'politician' makes "merely utilitarian valuation, in terms of ethics of means that is to say, in terms of efficiency." As such, whenever the Political Man stops discussing *means* and begins discussing *values*, he ceases, in Catlin's opinion, to be a politician. Taking such a view of Politics it of course follows logically, that Politics as the science of the method of social organisation, is neither good nor bad save as a condition prerequisite to the accomplishment of human ends good or bad. But this paradoxical conclusion rests on a basic confusion. The question will quite naturally arise — Can the Political Man, unless he be an abstraction like the Economic Man, pursue his political end in terms of efficiency without reflecting upon the truth-value of such ends? Catlin will answer in the affirmative and the answer will be satisfactory only in so far as the process of the formation of such ends may be explained by way of efficiency. But the recognition of the truth-value of such ends is intrinsic for the political situation as such. Granted the political situation, the question for Politics is not just any means for any man or society to attain political ends but the *best* means. This, in its turn, will involve teleological considerations touching persons reacting upon the political situation,

This holds good also in the case of other branches of social science. That Catlin himself admits of this fact is clear from his admission that he includes morals, as matters of fact and social influence, within the political field.¹¹ So far as this is the case, Catlin can meaningfully speak of reconciliation between ethics and politics. Thus he says, "There cannot be ultimate difference between the conclusions of Ethics and those of Politics. No ethical or political impossibilism can ultimately be satisfactory. They are to be reconciled in the relationship respectively of content and form, of purpose and method." This concession on the part of Catlin takes away much of the edge of his uncompromising position and outlook. Indeed, such reconciliation, to be effective and fruitful, requires that the relationship of content and form, of method and purpose, must be more close and intimate than Catlin would otherwise allow.

It is not that ethics is unwilling to make a surrender of the immediate ends to be studied in politics as "factors of permanent intensity in every political situation." But these immediate ends belong, as general attitudes of conduct, to a specific stage of the development of social order and it becomes incumbent upon ethics as upon politics to set the problem of the desirability or otherwise of this stage of development of social order. So viewed, ethical judgments, as judgments of final ends, are not matters of taste or temperament as Catlin insists¹² but are judgments exposing the logical inconsistencies of conduct relating to the social order as a whole. This means that ethical judgments, in spite of their being value-judgments, are always relative to conditions, historical or otherwise, which set the limit, so to say, to the realization of a social order desirable in itself. The factors of value in the realization of such ideal must be objectively and impartially tested by reference always to the logic of the situation at hand. Such a view of ethical judgments, not contemptuous of facts and of science, can alone ensure the reconciliation between ethics and social sciences. Thus, Catlin's definition of the aim of politics — "to discover by what method wills there (in the actual

¹¹ Catlin — *The Science and Method of politics*, p. 312.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 318.

situation) in discord may be brought in actual harmony, judged by external tests, with the minimum repression of the wills of each," — fails to explain how politics, as the science of method, can in itself bring about such harmonisation of wills; for, the method as such, in the abstract, cannot be the result. In democratic planning, such harmonisation of conflicting individual wills with the least repression of each of them can be successfully brought about. Such planning offers perhaps the best procedural mechanism and the aptest moral criterion for judging how far is a State a truly Welfare State.

Recent researches on the relationship between evaluative and axiological elements of empirical thought reveal that value-terms cannot altogether be detached from the theory-building process under strict empirical methodology. The object of the moralist is similar to that of the social theoretician. Both want to produce the maximum possible harmonization between personal and social satisfaction, so that the citizen, who is the primary unit of the society, is persuaded to follow a course of action which brings his own satisfaction along with the satisfaction of others. The citizen can be prompted to be so other-regarding by necessary adjustments and reconstruction of the social system, by diversion of his personal, selfish hankering to an other-regarding awareness and by applying the canons of blame and praise as the sanctions for bringing about an ethically valuable bio-synthesis of the self-regarding and the other-regarding conducts.¹³

Myrdal points out¹⁴ that value-judgments provide meaning and direction to theoretical thought in social sciences. Value is attached not only to ends to be achieved through planning, but also, to the means for realising those ends. This calls for a division between *prognosis* and *programming*. Programming is a

¹³ Bertrand Russell — *Human society in ethics and politics*, pp. 148-150.

¹⁴ Myrdal — *Crux of all science*, pp. 58-67. Also, his recent work, *Value in social theory*. He seems to be greatly influenced by the synthetic spirit of Max Weber who makes similar observations on the relations between moral and axiological aspects of a social proposition. Vide his *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Soziologie und Sozialpolitik*.

social process involving the desired ends of the individual in a planned society, the means for achieving the ends, that is, the procedures, and finally, the possible effects. But prediction of the final effects, that is, prognosis, which, in other words, becomes empirical generalization, involves the personal orientation of the social scientist as the social observer, however neutral he may be, of a social process affecting individual conduct. In other words, prognosis determines the programming and *vice versa*. "The social welfare function is a hold-all for all valuations, set out in a definite order, a device which is supposed to purify economic investigation of all vestiges of unscientific matter." Prognosis and programming are, therefore, interdependent in the very nature of social theory. In physics, Myrdal points out, it is not possible to observe exactly the position as well as the velocity of a particle, even though all experimental errors are completely ruled out. Similarly, the social scientist cannot observe, at the same time, the mutual interactions of prognosis and programming without the help of personal orientation. However, Myrdal declares, value-data which may be permitted to influence empirical generalizations in social sciences, must be concrete valuations in terms of concrete historical situations which might arise in the course of a social process like planning. When all superfluous, subjective elements are ruthlessly discarded, a positive, value-free social theory would emerge. Socially desirable conclusions can then be found out by the planner simply by associating with the objective scientific knowledge about society a tested and valid set of value-terms.¹⁵

The methodologist in social sciences must try to bring about, even by slow degrees, a strict discipline and detachment. But the meaning of science must be broadened so that supra-empirical or even spiritual knowledge beyond the range of empirical spheres may be profitably used. Knowledge is not simply an empirico-intellectual exercise, but a social product and if politics may be defined as the way of making justice available to all, *mixed methods* are the best methods for achieving this universally

¹⁵ Myrdal — *The political element in the development of economic theory*,

accepted social purpose of politics in operational spheres like planning.

With the emergence of this integral view of Knowledge, such branches of Knowledge on social and cultural sides of human behaviour like politics and economics may now be placed within the fold of 'sciences', rather 'natural sciences' in general. This highly original conception, namely, the integral view of Knowledge, is crystallized in Karl Mannheim's book on "Sociology of Knowledge" which will remain a valuable guide to the methodologists of social sciences for all time to come.¹⁶

Mannheim challenges the classical or traditional view on the cultural examination of Knowledge. According to this view, the seeker of Knowledge should try to discuss objectivity after eliminating the subjective or personal or collective bias. He should separate the subject from the object. To the classic examiner of Knowledge, objectivity, concerned itself only with the validity of the conclusions. Mannheim, on the contrary, draws attention to the positive and constructive significance in the evaluative elements in thought. A full comprehension of the object, according to him, is possible only when it is known how the subject throws his attention upon it. Mannheim tries to correlate objectivity to respective interests by *Wissensoziologie* or 'Sociology of Knowledge'. As a sociologist, he thinks that truth, in social sciences like politics, ethics and economics, is not realised merely by way of simple correlation of thought to experience. It is realised when it is viewed from the investigator's own interest and his subjectmatter, his standpoint, his choice, his definition of the object. Here the social scientist faces difficulties. In physical science, the scientist is occupied with the external regularities without finding their hidden meanings as parts of general phenomena. In social sciences, however, he is to probe behind these hidden meanings and their interconnections. That is why Mannheim calls it 'a natural science of politics' what others call 'political science'.

¹⁶ Mannheim — *Ideology and Utopia*. The present researcher has had the pleasant privilege of reading his books, *Wissensoziologie* and *Ideologie und Utopie*, written in German.

Mannheim now tries to determine the actual relationships between the specific connections in the real interest-groups in the society and the programmes they represent. His thesis is that Ideologies and Utopias often deflect thought from the object of investigation. Together, they lead to a comprehensive apprehension of the social situation which, otherwise, would have gone unnoticed. By "Ideologies" he means those "complexes of ideas which direct activity toward the maintenance of the existing order"; by "Utopias" he means "those complexes of ideas which tend to generate activities toward changes of the prevailing order." Mannheim seeks to formulate a general theory on an effective apparatus for productive empirical research in social sciences by pointing out the increasing degree in which Knowledge and Psychology, as social processes, are intimately related to Politics. The 'Sociology of Knowledge' is, thus, a process by which collective-unconscious motives appear as conscious and sociologically determinable with reference to a specific social situation like planning. Knowledge becomes more social than formal.

Mannheim asks the social scientist or the Sociologist of Knowledge to rely largely on insight, on what Max Weber calls sympathetic introspectionism or 'symptomatology'. Like Max Weber, again, he believes that gradually blind faith and fate are disappearing from the social processes. The active agent is more and more obliged to know the knowable. The sphere of the historical which is to be regulated, is being more and more crystal clear. A new moral develops according to which Knowledge is no more to be taken as a mere passive reflection of the moral agent but a mode of rational self-audit and a style of critical self-research. These revolutionary factors are soon going to build up the sociology of the tomorrow.

The observations of Max Weber and Mannheim unmistakably point out that rigid empiricism as that of Kaufmann cannot be taken as the basis for an acceptable methodology in social sciences. It is only an integral method, like Mannheim's 'Sociology of Knowledge' that can be taken as a valid methodology in social sciences. In this broad-based methodology, empirical

and supra-empirical Knowledge are to be readily harmonized whenever possible. That means, a social scientist must be a liberal metaphysician, drawing freely, but wisely, from all sources of Knowledge that he may profitably utilise — empiricism or supra-empiricism or even spiritualism.

In his original approach to the study of a methodology in social sciences,¹⁷ Alfred Schütz has clearly explained that a study of social sciences in the sense of a mere clarification of concepts is futile and that its methodology must have a metaphysical context. He utilizes for his purpose the philosophy of Bergson and starts with the two principles laid down by Max Weber. First, all social phenomena consist of individual actions and results and are, therefore, subjective. Secondly, the social scientist, while interpreting social phenomena on these lines, builds 'ideal types of such actions' by detaching common elements and bracketing them to create extreme or 'ideal cases'. Schütz argues that meaning is attached to the detached fragments of our experience only when we 'turn round' and reflect on such experience either as relating to the past or to the future. Whatever the context, this reflection is not the mere having of the experience which itself is a passive kind of individual action. The acts of reflection are, however, active experience or active type of individual action. Keeping these 'simple concepts of meaning and action' in view, Schütz passes on to the social sphere of meaning and action. In such a sphere, "the action is determined by the project, including the in-order-to motive, and the project is determined by the because-motive." Social actions are defined "as actions whose in-order-to motive contains a reference to someone else's stream of consciousness. . . . The attempt to interpret other people's actions means that the observer makes the recognition of the *alter ego's* contents of consciousness the in-order-to motive of his own action. In this case, the social

¹⁷ *A New Approach To the Methodology of the Social Sciences*, by Alfred Stonier and Karl Bode in *Economica*, November, 1937 (pp. 406-424). This is the condensed English version of Alfred Schütz's article in German. The present writer has also been largely benefited by reading the original German version of this article.

action does not imply any attempt to influence the *alter ego*." If, on the other hand, his in-order-to motive is to affect the *alter ego's* stream of experiences, we get the second type of social action. Schütz mentions three main types of 'social action' — "Either both partners merely observe one another, or both partners try to influence each other, or thirdly, one of them tries to influence the other while the latter confines himself to observation." The social scientist, as a methodologist and *qua* scientist, according to Schütz, "operates exclusively with ideal types, and it is the aim of every systematic social science to formulate its propositions with the help of a complete pyramid of these concepts. . . . The chief methodological problem with which the social sciences are faced is the construction of adequate *ideal types*. In order to be adequate, ideal types must fulfil two conditions. On the one hand they must satisfy the rules of formal logic . . . on the other hand the type selected must be in accordance with the totality of scientific experience, both of a more general and of a more special kind."

Two leading modern social thinkers, Durkheim and Whitehead, have sought for a metaphysical basis of the methodology of social sciences. According to Durkheim,¹⁸ the essential ideas, generally called the categories of understanding, can never be derived from experience; for, that would take away from the universality and necessity of the categories and lead to irrationalism, "denying all objective reality to the logical life whose regulation and organization is the function of the categories." Nor can one subscribe to *a priorism*, — that the categories are logically prior to experience and condition it. Although they allow the categories their specific characteristics of universality and necessity, the *a priorists* never explain how the mind can have the singular power of transcending experience and ordering it, how it happens that experience is not sufficient unto itself, but presupposes just those certain other conditions that are realized at the moment and in the manner desirable. Durkheim is, thus, led to the sociologically important conclusion that the categories are of social origin and, as collective represen-

¹⁸ Durkheim — *The elementary forms of the religious life*.

tations, "a special intellectual activity is concentrated in them which is infinitely richer and complexer than that of the individual." From the fact that society is a reality *sui generis*, it is easy to understand how man's social being, representing the highest reality in the intellectual and moral order, can make it possible for reason to go beyond the limits of empirical knowledge.

According to Whitehead,¹⁹ each occasion of actuality is a case of mental positing of formal immediacy and objective otherness, of an immanent unity and many final actualities. As he puts it, "Each occasion has its physical inheritance and its mental reaction which drives it on to its self-completion." The philosophic tradition initiated by Plato²⁰ is a dualism between 'souls' and 'physical nature'.²¹ This dualism was brought to a focus by Descartes with his 'thinking substances' and the 'extended substances'. Locke's philosophy, in its turn, is nothing but the Cartesian dualism built on an empirical foundation with his 'human understanding' and 'external things'. This persistence of dualism through the ages tends to prove that the Universe is dual, because each final actuality is both physical and mental, that each such actuality must have the metaphysical character of occasions of experience. This original outlook of a dualist makes Whitehead an illustrious thinker whose position can best be described as a novel attempt to synthesise empiricism and idealism in a broad sense. It must be remembered, however, that such synthesis, in his opinion, cannot be conjured up *ab extra* as a sort of intellectual jugglery, but must spring from a faith in reason in "the right understanding of the immediate occasion of knowledge in full concreteness."²²

Recently, Lasswell has demonstrated the great value of the empirical methodology in the analysis of social phenomena.²³ But he strongly criticises the inadequacy of the analysis of the exponents of liberalism as also of the champions of Marxism,

¹⁹ Whitehead — *Adventures of ideas* (Pelican books), p. 222.

²⁰ In his later dialogues.

²¹ These terms, "souls" and "physical nature", must be understood in the Platonic sense.

²² Whitehead — *Science and the modern world* (Pelican books), p. 58.

²³ Lasswell — *Psychopathology and politics*,

because they institutionalise too much in the sense that they both think that social ills arise because of faulty socio-politico-economic institutions. These two rival schools of social reform also indulge in speculative generalisations on political behaviour on the basis of some *a priori* assumptions concerning the universal validity of the rational human motives. Applying the Freudian tool of psycho-analysis, Lasswell thinks that the behavioural structure of the social man consists of the *ego*, the *super-ego* and the *id*. The *ego* is the individual's own personality. The *super-ego* or the conscience of the individual develops as a result of the increased socialisation of the human personality through social taboos and the process of repression. In other words, the *super-ego* is the social personality of the individual. The *id* consists of the antisocial, or even unsocial, personality of the individual. It often reflects the primitive or animal aspects of the repressed human personality. A constant tug-of-war or triangle of forces is present within the human personality. The more-structure in the community appeals to the *super-ego* ; the counter-mores to the *id* ; the social, economic, cultural and technological forces of the society appeal to the *ego*. Political behaviour is dynamic due to relatively shifting adjustments of the three divisions of the human personality whenever the stimuli (control-activities of the society like planning) are changed. Marxist class-wars or liberal socio-economic reforms or formal or legalistic changes of the political wing of the society do not, by themselves, lead to revolutions or satisfactions of the people. Whenever there is an emotional disturbance in the people who are swayed by the romance of the new ideologies, a stage of new psychological susceptibility is created for the warm invitation to the new social ideas. A revolution takes place. Unless, therefore, the deep psychological factors in the process of human causation are analysed carefully, Lasswell construes, the analysis of the social phenomena lacks empirical significance. Considering these points, he is at last in a position to formulate the following equation explaining the special characteristics of the political man or the *Homo politicus* :

$$p \text{) } d \text{) } r = P$$

in which equation, *p* indicates personal motives, *d* indicates displacements in response to public motives, *r* indicates rationalisation in public interest, *P* indicates the political man, and the symbol '*'*' indicates being transformed into.

The same equation holds good, according to the present researcher, for showing the characteristics of the *Homo socialis* or the social man except that in its revised form, it would be :

$$p \rightarrow d \rightarrow r = S$$

in which equation, *S* stands for the social man or the *Homo socialis*, all other symbols in the equation remaining unchanged.

It is obvious from the discussions of the type which social scientists like Lasswell initiate that formulation of generalisations suitable for the social planner, so that he can understand the subtle game of the social process, is only possible when empirical methods are applied.

Yet, as the synthetic theories of the social scientists discussed so far show, the empirical method must be reinforced by supra-empirical methods. The planner can understand the full play of the social process only when he goes beyond what the senses offer him and he moves deep into the unconscious in the human personality. In other words, a synthetic method is the only socially valid method the planner can legitimately rely on. The toil of the senses must be supplemented by the feel of the human mind. What the past has to say must be heard ; but the planner should also hear the voice of his inner self. If this guess-work is a bit supra-empirical, it is worth-having ; for, this is the very essence of statesmanship.

Planning is a total, rational reconstruction of the knowledge of the social reality as a whole. It becomes, therefore, of necessity, a comprehensive, synthetic process. No wonder then that it can have metaphysical or ethical contexts. Without such supra-empirical contexts, the difficulties and ambiguities existing in the social layout of the planner would only be explained away instead of being explained fully. Of course, there is no single ethical or metaphysical or even empirical theory which can be finally and universally accepted as wholly satisfying. Perhaps this is the reason why the despairing conclusion, that there can be no

methodology in social sciences, found favour with the leading sociologists of the world who took part in the recent symposium sponsored by the U.N.E.S.C.O. Being too much eager to establish social sciences as fully normative and empirical, they missed the point that only a synthetic method with an empirical bias is the real answer to the call of a socially valid and formally satisfying methodology for the social sciences. Being a synthesis, it is flexible enough to incorporate whatever is of value in human experience, direct or indirect, consciously obtained and acid-tested or unconsciously imagined and guessed.

A GROWTH-ORIENTED SOCIAL SCIENCE OF PLANNING:
MICRO-STATIC, MICRO-DYNAMIC, MACRO-STATIC
AND MACRO-DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY

Famous writers of social science like Comte, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer have formulated theories of social statics and social dynamics, following the empirical laws of social change. According to Comte, any social change should be studied with reference to social statics as well as social dynamics. Indeed, these two aspects of the sociology of growth deal with laws of change and transition according to which a particular stage of society succeeds one previous stage. He wants to formulate a general, ultimate law of Progress by proposing to divide the successive stages of Progress into Theological, Metaphysical and Positive, each built on the lessons of the previous stage. He also tries to establish a law of epistemic progress by a progressive classification of sciences in an ascending scale according to the degree of complexity of their phenomena related by way of succession or similitude. Each science depends on the findings of its precedent sciences and grows by the vitality so added to its own truths. The summit of this achievement, according to Comte, is the Positive stage, a stage of all-round social perfection and development.²⁴

According to Mill, social changes must be understood with reference to social statics and social dynamics; for, these two fringes of the study of society in a state of equilibrium as also in

²⁴ Comte — *Cours de philosophie positive*, translated by J. H. Bridges.

a state of progress, help find out the laws according to which "any state of society produces the state which succeeds it and takes its place."²⁵ A joint consideration of progressive changes in the elements of social phenomena along with the contemporary condition of each is necessary. A state of society is the general state of all the main social facts — the condition of the whole organism. On analysis, Mill finds that it reveals uniformities of coexistence between its different elements the mutual relation among which is itself a law coming from the laws regulating the succession of one state of society after another. Herein, Mill suggests, lies the usefulness of the Historical Method to find out these secondary laws of social sciences. Social facts narrate a story of frequent reaction of their effects (that is, human character) on their causes (that is, human circumstances). So the form of this succession of one state of society after another is, according to Mill, a *Progress*. By *Progress*, here, he does not necessarily mean improvement, though he believes that excepting occasional and temporary setbacks, social evolution is 'towards a better and happier state'. The empirical laws of social science are uniformities of co-existence (or Social Statics) and uniformities of succession of social effects (or Social Dynamics). Social Statics is the reaction of social elements coexisting at a particular time. Social dynamics is the science which considers society in a state of progress.²⁶ Social statics helps guess the condition of one of the aspects of an organic social phenomenon which cannot be directly observed by the help of its another aspect which can be so observed. This points out an interdependence between different sciences and arts, between sciences in general and arts in general, between the contemporary conditions of different nations, between a pattern of government and the existing civilization.²⁷

²⁵ Mill — *Auguste Comte and Positivism*, p. 195.

²⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 57-59, 89. No doubt, Mill borrows the concepts of social statics and social dynamics from Comte though he does not hesitate to point out that Comte himself does not analyse the problems of social statics thoroughly enough.

²⁷ Mill applies the tools of social statics and social dynamics, with proper modifications, of course, to find out the criterion of the good form of govern-

Herbert Spencer builds up "an almost purely deductive system of philosophy, bringing social theories into relation to biological evolution and the supposed conclusions of the physical sciences."²⁸ Following the conclusions of biological sciences, he wants to trace the process of organic evolution as an inevitable result of the conservation of energy. He tries to unite mental, moral and social growth with organic by the psycho-somatic theory that man personally inherits habits which have social effects. As Darwin thinks that the species develop the most complex characteristics with the gradual culmination of the process of evolution, Spencer also imagines that society becomes more complex as it gradually develops. A growth-oriented deductive review of society enables him to argue for an 'absolute ethics' which would help the perfectly adapted man, in the fully evolved society, fill the desideratum for reference to decide what is an ideal ethical standard.²⁹

Since the time of Marx, there are many sociologists who analyse the concepts of social statics and social dynamics with reference to the impact of social changes on the class.

Marx brings about a great change in the analysis of the social process with reference to the class. He thinks that the class is a group of persons whose social position is determined by its possession or non-possession of the means of production. Bukharin defines the class as the group of people who play the same role in the productive process.³⁰ He reduces the class to a type of social stratification with a degree of mobility or immobility. Max Weber thinks³¹ that a class is often a number of persons who share common, definite, causal components of the opportunities available for them, determined by economic interests

ment. He says that the good form of government must be one that offers the people the next step for the want of which their progress is held up. *Vide* his *Representative government*, Ch. II.

²⁸ Sabine — *A History of Political Theory*, p. 671.

²⁹ Spencer — *The Data of Ethics*, Chapter XV. Also, his *Social statics*.

³⁰ Bukharin — *Economic theory of the leisure class*.

³¹ Max Weber — *Essays in sociology* (Translated by Gerth and Mills), pp. 180-181.

like the ownership of goods and services and by the extent of the markets which the commodities they produce have. Further, the position of the people in a class is conditioned by their occupation. Sorokin also considers occupation as the determinant and solidifier of the position of the class. But unlike Marx, he thinks that the culture-group to which a person belongs, determines his class-character. This is why Sorokin takes a total view of the class, because culture is the sum of many definite and indefinite, known and unknown, perceptible and invisible, components which are never at rest.³² MacIver opposes the view of Marx and Max Weber that the class is only a function of economic interests in the community. Instead of this definition of the class, MacIver chooses the characterisation of the class according to the status it actually enjoys in the society. By status, he obviously means how much of liberty the class enjoys, how much of security it really has.³³ Sombart is also opposed to the Marxist definition of the class. Influenced by German idealism, he rather tries to map the class as an ideational concept.³⁴

The views of Comte would be found more valuable to totalitarian planners than democratic planners; for, his theories on social statics and social dynamics tend to introduce a sort of regimentation in the planned social process. He is right in so far as he wants to make social statics and social dynamics the handmaids of a progressive, planned society. But he is wrong in so far as he thinks that the 'positive' stage is the final stage of perfection when the 'positive' planner would need the help only of social statics, as no better stage of perfection the civilization can reach. In a sense, therefore, the theory of social growth as outlined by Comte through the help of social statics and social dynamics is no less fatalistic and deterministic than that of Marx.

Mill's analysis of social progress through social statics and social dynamics is followed by modern social analysts and growth-

³² Sorokin — *Social and cultural dynamics*.

³³ MacIver — *Social Causation*; also his *The web of Government* and, of course, his *The Modern State*.

³⁴ Sombart — *Der moderne Kapitalismus*. Also, his *Der economische Imperialismus*.

sociologists. What he wants is the application of a combined technique of social statics and social dynamics. This synthetic spirit inspiring the analysis of the progressive and regressive trends of society, inspires Merriam when, in the context of discussing the analytical tools of the social planner, he says, "Both the microscope and the telescope are useful instruments, but they are not to be used without regard to generalizations drawn from observation, experiment and reflection."³⁵

According to Durbin, the value of micro-politics and macro-politics lies in the fact that "the social scientist must look through the psychological microscope ; so must the politician. They will then see the real, but macroscopic, institutions of government and property, party and revolution, with which they deal and must continue to deal, dissolve into a thousand fragments of personal ambition and patriotism, of secret love and hatred, unconscious purpose and need."³⁶

Herbert Spencer takes the phenomenon of evolution for granted. But he seems to ignore the subtle differences between biological evolution and social evolution. No doubt, man acquires certain hereditary elements in his character. But these are amenable, to some extent, at least, to planned directional change. An absolutist ethics, deductively constructed, is no better than the gospel of a totalitarian planner ; for, ethics is never absolute in view of the fact that man is capable of infinite, deliberate adjustments in all aspects of his life, including the moral, in the course of individual, racial or social evolution. Spencer bolts the door of the spiritual growth of man in a planned society by accepting the theory of biological evolution without a critical appraisal and applying it to social growth without considering the social and sociological implications.

G. D. H. Cole opposes the purely Marxist, that is, materialistic conception of the class. He says that "struggles between civilisations arise not from the internal development of the productive powers within a single system, but from the economic hunger or

³⁵ Merriam — *Systematic politics*, p. ix (preface).

³⁶ Durbin — *The politics of democratic socialism*, pp. 37-73, 261-273.

the economic greed of one civilisation directed against another.”³⁷ Yet, this conception of the class is like the Marxist’s. Marx thinks that class-differences cause a revolution. But Cole finds the States relatively set against one another in the battlefield just as Marx finds that one class fights against another. Marx himself supports such a theory of imperialism according to which, he declares, imperialist games could be stopped by world-wide communism.

The ultimate finding of Toynbee is that civilisations mature not with the help of racial or geographical or environmental factors, but with the help of a creative population in the region stimulated by an environment neither too unfavourable nor too favourable.³⁸ Civilisations collapse because of suicide, not murder, the suicidal factors in the civilisation appearing at a time when the creative potentiality of the population and adhesive social cohesion in the civilisation are no more. What are the factors which favour the creative power of the people and the social cohesion in a civilisation Toynbee does not fully explain in so dogmatic terms as Marx and his followers do.

A growth-conscious social planner would find that the class-character is determined by many non-economic factors like age, cultural tastes, habits, educational background and the like.³⁹ For example, it is found that “birds of the same feather flock together.” In a club, very often, an old man might freely mix with a youth and develop a class-affinity. In a culture-club, age-barriers are thrown away when its members participate in activities which offer pleasure equally to the young and the old.

³⁷ Cole — *Some relations between Political and Economic Theory*. On this point, Cole’s view is like that of Oppenheimer as outlined in his book, *The State*.

³⁸ Toynbee — *Civilisation on trial*, pp. 37-38, 159-160. It seems that Toynbee supports an organic concept of civilisation, because modern scientists like Sir James Jeans hold that life on earth can only subsist at a certain temperature which is to be neither too hot nor too cold.

³⁹ This is the opinion of many field-workers and social scientists, engaged in data-collection and decision in the front of economic planning in India, whom the present researcher had the pleasant privilege to meet in the course of conducting this research.

Culture is, here, the cementing factor. There are many rich, imaginative people who patronise these institutions for no selfish exploiting motive. The daily-passengers who board the same compartment of a train, forget all about the differences in age, caste, creed or religion and enjoy a particular joke heartily. Those who take part in games, develop a sort of team-spirit and sportsmanship which make them act for a common purpose. More or less, however, age-factor is the prime factor which causes social stratification. That is, a social planner might easily find out what the common programmes of people of a certain age-group would be. All these empirical findings of a social scientist would tend to reveal that the Marxian criterion of economic interest determining the class-character of an individual must be accepted with a large margin of reservation, if it is to be accepted at all. For valuable macro-sociological and micro-sociological results in the field of planning, the planner would thus do well to consider the effects of economic as well as non-economic changes, as a result of planning, on class-character, class-composition, class-differentiation and class-behaviour.

Supporters of a growth-oriented theory of economics in modern times⁴⁰ have taken their stand on pure empiricism. In constructing the micro-static, micro-dynamic economics, specially, they try to formulate, inductively, the behaviour of particular firms, the pricing-process and the fluctuations of incomes. In so doing, they assume that a particular component in the economic process is constant. This is how they apply the concept of marginal analysis or the demand-and-supply analysis to understand the nature of the individual firm. It is then that they try to build up the macrostatic and macrodynamic laws of economics. A typical macro-economic identity formulated by the micro-economic

⁴⁰ Boulding — *Economic Analysis*, part II ; also, his *Economic reconstruction*, Chapter 10 ; Tinbergen's article in Harris' *New Economics* ; also, Tinbergen's article in *Econometrica*, July, 1935 ; Leontieff's article in Ellis' *Survey of Contemporary Economics* ; Klein — *Keynesian Revolution*, pp. 56-63 ; Harrod's article, *Scope and method of Economics* in *Economic Journal*, Vol. 48, September, 1938 ; also, his *Towards a dynamic economics* ; Kalecki — *Theory of economic dynamics* ; Oscar Lange — *Introduction to econometrics*,

models through observation and experience, would run as follows :

$$P = C + A$$

where P is volume of production, C is the volume of consumption and A is the volume of accumulation.

From this mathematical identity, further equations illustrating the laws of growth-economics could follow logically, equations of growth-behaviour like

$$C = f(P) \text{ or } A = f(P)$$

In other words, the volume of consumption is a function of the volume of production. Any excess of production over consumption would, in a growth-favouring economy, be a part of A , the volume of accumulation, and exercise a tremendous influence on the determination of the volume of production in the next stage of economic growth. Harrod simplifies the analytical map of the growth-economist : the static economics is concerned with the 'general theory of value and distribution' while dynamic economics is concerned with the laws of demand and the laws of growth. Though static economics, he observes, is mainly concerned with the deductive method, in so far as it assumes a particular factor as constant, the inductive process is valuable in mapping the unmapped territory of dynamic economics.

Macro-static and macro-dynamic aspects of growth-economics are more important to the planner than the micro-static and micro-dynamic theories in so far as policy-formulation is concerned. But he must not blindly support the input-output analysis of the macro-analytical growth-economists. Social data may not be properly and correctly generalised in such analysis. The socio-economic aggregates which the macro-economists are concerned with, are not to be supposed as fully homogeneous. In fact, there may be differences in the composition and structure of these aggregates. Further, aggregates may not be socially interesting. Individual samples may be far more interesting and fruitful for empirical social planning. Moreover, macro-economic studies are long-period studies and, as such, have their limitations. As collective studies, macro-studies are to be perfected by micro-analysis. In other words, macro-analysis and micro-analysis

go together and are never to be imagined as isolated phenomenological equipments of the social planner.

Growth-oriented studies of politics or economics would help the planner only so far as they enable him to diagnose the general social illness. Growth of the society or the economy is rather a vague term, though the fact of growth or development as an organic phenomenon cannot be denied. In fact, the assumption of this organic phenomenon itself is an *a priori* generalisation. Further, as Charles Merriam points out,⁴¹ the validity of the growth-oriented sociology rests on the assumption of a continuous creative evolution of the group under a planned social system in the direction of higher strata, social, physical, intellectual, economic, spiritual, cultural. This view of social growth implies that social growth under a planned society must be considered from various aspects.⁴² Only economic growth or cultural growth or the growth of a single group of persons in a plural society, that is, a society in which there are other groups than the one under consideration, would lead simply to a onesided plan evaluation. All inductive lawmaking of the growth-sociologist, whether as an economist or as a political reformer, must rest on this general assumption even though, the empiricist in the planner would urge that growth-phenomenon is an outcome of everyday experience. In fact, the planner would find that in the initial stages, the laws of planning a growing economy are nothing but the laws of social dynamics and are to be empirically formulated. However, when some degree of progress in planning has been achieved or when the planning-stage for a given amount of time (five years have been chosen as the time-span of planning by the Government of India) is reached at last, the need for stabilising whatever has been achieved, is important. The planner, at this stage, should be concerned with the practical problem of stabilising the socio-politico-economic equilibrium that has been established by the planning-process. In other words, the laws of social statics would be important at this stage. The deductive analysis would be helpful; for, progress does not simply mean advancement;

⁴¹ Merriam — *Systematic politics*, p. vii (preface).

⁴² Dixon — *Economics and cultural change*.

it also means prevention from falling back. Yet, the particular stage of social statics would be changed into a state of social dynamics when the previous time-span of planning is taken just as the middle term of a series of plans covering a rather wide space of time. Thus, whether in theory or in practice, social growth through planning must be analysed by the combined methods of induction and deduction. A synthetic methodology with empirical bias is the socially valid methodology for growth-oriented planning ; for, planning needs a recasting of the empirical theories of causation into a comprehensive sociological survey.

A growth-oriented study of economic planning might be based on observation and analysis of various forms of current manipulations of the otherwise unrestrained social process verging to an automatic state. A deeper study, however, is needed to watch the evolutionary quality of socio-politico-economic efforts and achievements involved in the course of planning the different segments of the social life — the rise from a lower to a higher form of economic level, the transition from a lower to a higher cultural set-up. In an unplanned society, the struggle for the evolution of a cultural pattern or a particular standard of material comfort, causing a general rise of the people's standard of living, spiritual or material, would be left uncared-for as the spontaneous unfolding of blind chance, pure and simple. Such fateful emergences in an unplanned society would even mean a going back to a vast void of social waste and wretchedness. The growth-conscious social planner is to prevent such determinism or fatalism in any form, historical-economic, psychophysical or just ideational. Merriam nicely re-states the perspective of the growth-sociologist : "The whole life-process is one of creative evolution in which the type and values of the species continually rise in the scale. Governmental processes⁴³ are not merely worm-like squirmings, in which men are enslimed without gains or goals, but are parts of the process of transition from darkness to light, from slavery to freedom, from drift to mastery."⁴⁴

⁴³ Like planning.

⁴⁴ Merriam — *Systematic politics*. A similar view is held by Frank. Vide his article, *Structure, function, and growth in Philosophy of Science*, April, 1935, pp. 210-235.

Planning presupposes the acceptance of a scheme for all-round betterment of the communal life. There are many thinkers, leaders and social workers in India⁴⁵ who are of opinion that mere material betterment of individual life through social planning would simply lead to an undesirable bias towards the materially good. Man can not live by bread alone. So, a strong bias towards material well-being would mean the rearing of materially rich citizens who are poor spiritually. That is to say, planners must not ignore the spiritual growth through the help of planning while they are engaged in economic scheming. Building gigantic dams is useless if the future citizens of the country are to face the grim prospects of living like animals, uncultured or illiterate. There is, no doubt, much truth in this view. But it must be remembered that the Indians are so very poor that they must first be given sufficient opportunity to fill up their empty stomachs. The country is so very influenced by pseudo-spiritualists that its countrymen are sometimes fanatically spiritualistic. The planners of India must, therefore, follow a sober policy, stimulating material and spiritual growth to be brought through planning in a balanced manner.

THE VALUE AND LIMITATIONS OF FIELD-WORK

Field-work is basic to social survey without which planning can never satisfactorily take place. "A social survey is a process by which quantitative facts are collected about the social aspects of a community's composition and activities."⁴⁶ Social survey presupposes the following conditions : a willingness to promote the material welfare of all members of society, an outlook which would consider social affairs as being amenable to social control and a definite skill in the quantitative appraisal of the cause-and-effect relationships in the social process.⁴⁷ Such conditions of a satisfactory and intensive, and/or extensive, social survey through field-work can best be fulfilled under conditions of planning; for, planning implies a social awareness that there is a social problem

⁴⁵ For example, Acharyya Vinoba Bhave, Jaiprakash Narain and others.

⁴⁶ Abrams — *Social surveys and social action*, p. 1.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 4.

and social survey only finds out the relevant facts and figures to assess its dimension and origin. Planning, in a sense, is a technique to fit facts. Statistical surveys and other types of fieldwork help the planner formulate his theory and face the cold logic of facts.

Social survey through field-work has been introduced into the work of social planning by analysts like Charles Booth, Rowntree and Arthur Bowley in England. In the U.S.A., such survey work is increasingly being undertaken by the social planners.

Social survey may be a survey of one aspect of the social life. Bowley, for example, undertook a social survey on poverty. Or, the social survey might take the form of a factual enquiry into the behavioural trends like a public opinion survey. Or, the survey might be concerned with general market research.

The growth of the modern Welfare State⁴⁸ has made the government an active and leading partner in the work of social survey along with the private researchers, specialists and field-workers.

Social survey is micro-analytic when it tries to find out some factual opinions of a certain sector of social life. Thus, the behaviour of consumers in a consumers' co-operative society is a micro-analytic social survey. But American social scientists have a bias towards the macro-analytic, systemic social surveys through what they call "mass observation."⁴⁹ Obviously, the American social scientists could undertake such social surveys, pressed by public opinion, or rather, by the distress owing to the second World War. Though praising the social surveys of

⁴⁸ The implications of the concept of the Welfare State in planning will be fully discussed in Chapter III of the present treatise.

⁴⁹ Details of such macro-analytic social surveys of the American social surveyors may be found in *Readings in Social Psychology* (Edited by Newcombe and Hartley). Some typical examples of such surveys undertaken by American social psychologists include : A field survey of mass hysteria ; of the psychological reflections on the mass popularity of the television ; of the anti-democratic personality ; of leadership in the community ; of group decision and social transition in a planned community ; of fear and boredom in the citizens ; of racial integration. *Vide also*, Cohen—*Statistical methods for social scientists*.

the American social scientists, Abrams, the eminent British social surveyor, cannot help making the funny, yet true, remark that "only when engulfed by the disasters of war and depression do the politician and the taxpayer welcome the services of the social scientists."⁵⁰

In a Welfare State, planning is a means, not an end. The end is always utilitarian — how to realize maximum social happiness through maximum individual happiness. Facts are to be collected, data tabulated, fields surveyed, errors gauged and chances eliminated. Induction and Deduction help the process. A scientific inference emerges. Inference is made out of a complex jumble of social and individual factors. A generalised law applicable to particular cases now steps in. This is the method of science. It makes statistics a normative science, a normative social science.

Yet, no social science is, after all, a wild goose chase after knowledge for knowledge's sake. Social sciences are always purposive in the sense that they cater for a purpose.⁵¹ Social welfare is realised through them, indirectly though. Individual happiness is directly realised, leaving social happiness a useful by-product. This is more so with reference to applied social sciences in a Welfare State.

Statistics, however, methodologically speaking, is a peculiar type of social science. It is a study of social preferences, a choice of social techniques. The problems of the individual, the group, the community and the nation— all engage its unfailing attention. Often these factors are not in harmony. A purely normative science enumerates facts, presents problems in a constructive spirit and suggests solutions. But such solutions might just be square pegs in round holes. Here, statistics breaks off as a purposive social science. Like a seasoned diplomat, it seeks to bring about a truce, a *rapprochement* between various conflicting interests. The individual, the group, the community or the nation come into the picture. The resultant is an H.C.F., a statistician's prescription for getting rid of a social ill.

⁵⁰ Abrams — *Social surveys and social action*.

⁵¹ Chapter I of the present work is concluded with this observation.

This diplomatic role of statistics in planning is now significant enough. Statistics must study, indeed, the very often jarring notes of discord struck by thousand and one social agents like the individual or the group. It must prepare a chart of preferences, a diagram of choices. Yet, as a neutral friend to each such social factor, it must find out the best possible solution — the H.C.F. The State must then plan. Preferences are, by nature, competitive. But statistics must follow a comparative method, hammering out from the bewildering chaos of competitive preferences, a shapely cosmos of co-operative, integrated preferences. Planning now begins, national reconstruction sets in.

Statistics has its vital, active, dynamic play in planning. It has a political aspect — whether it is wise to leave to the gymnastics of ivory tower scholastics to manipulate the fortune of the unfortunate by facts and figures. In a Welfare State, planning through statistics certainly means democratic planning.⁵² There is the legislature elected by the people. There is the network of a vast number of newspapers. There are expert public bodies like the Universities, Chambers of Commerce or Statistical Bureaus. Lots of clubs and voluntary associations are also functioning. There are expert private research institutions too. All these organs are sure to offer constructive criticisms and sound discussions on the blueprint of the statistician-planner.

If necessary, the State may even change the fundamentals of the planner in the light of these criticisms and discussions. At last comes the greatest common agreement with the thickest mass appeal — the broad plan for national reconstruction.

All these show that in a Welfare State, the sovereignty of statistics is limited. The democratic element involved in enlisting the maximum mass sympathy and popular enthusiasm is an obvious limitation. There are also other limitations.

Nature seems to abhor vacuums. Social sciences never run as isolated spaceships. An empirico-epistemic relationship connects them.⁵³ Human existence at the moment is colourfully rich

⁵² The problem of democratic planning will be fully discussed in Chapter III.

⁵³ This forms the conclusion of Chapter I of the present treatise.

with rainbows of experiences. Man has, in the empirical process of trial and error, built up his storehouse of values.⁵⁴ His cupboards may be small, but they are not empty. The modern statistician-planner must work, as far as possible, taking these values as k (constant) factors. These values the philosophers know. Surely, the statistician-planner must frantically seek after his help. The philosopher must point out the basic human values, social and individual, which are so far acceptable. Others then weave out a permanent, close-knit social apparel of fast colour. This tailoring is for common wearing. Each social scientist, then, seeks to serve a common social purpose. He is not a Robinson Crusoe. A part of the social *milieu*, a satellite in the social system, he is related to others. No one is a scrap in the colossal plan of nation-building.

The value of social survey through field-work and statistical sampling would be fully clear if one examines the role of these empirical techniques in the formulation of the socially significant and personally valuable principles on which the national plan is to be based.

Reconstructing India to-day is not a simple equation. A vast sub-continent opens a Pandora's Box, but Hope remains. There comes the statistician-planner. He takes a bundle of values. In a Welfare State, man must have his welfare as much as he must have his bread. He must have voted for the man in power who also plans by way of a routine work of policy-making, but depending on the professional planner. The statistician, as a planner, must have much to calculate then. He must find out the problems, survey the fields, offer economic blueprints. Thus the policy is made.

Still now, Indians have to keep the wolf of poverty out of their doors. India lacks no resources. Yet, the co-existence of plentiness and scantiness creates a strange paradox in this land, queer bedfellows as they are.

The Indian statistician's task is Himalayan. A big field he has to survey. National reconstruction is not merely economic.

⁵⁴ This forms part of the conclusion of the preceding section (entitled "The empirical method : pure and synthetic") of this Chapter.

A battered, shattered ship of State he must make ready in the face of rough-weather wear and tear. A wild adventure it must surely be. So the statistician, as the field-surveyor, must not be just mathematical. He must have an abundant supply of rich imagination.⁵⁵

Then comes the need for co-ordination and tabulation of data. Faulty statistics upsets all national planning. Posting of entries must be checked. Field-work itself must be supervised. Tabulation must be perfect and choice of data definite. Bias-free conclusions can then crop up as much as possible. Callousness and carelessness of field workers kill their cooking of figures and facts.

Indians do not know often where they stand. Pressed hard by the planned process, an area of the country stands on the way of a rapid, fruitful field-work. People lack education. They are behind the smokescreens of taboos, prejudices, superstitions. Taboos are social, economic, political or religious. To the villagers, the field worker or the social worker is often a ghost to be avoided. His questions go unanswered. Indians, in short, are not statistically-minded.

Then, again, figures are mostly collected by village watchers or *choukidars*. They often enjoy a salary of rupees fourteen a month! So they care little for presenting genuine statistical records.

Large-scale national reconstruction needs trained workers.

⁵⁵ *The Report of the Seminar on Field Work Supervision* published by the Delhi School of Social Work in 1957 in collaboration with Technical Co-operation Mission Programme of the U.S.A. (the T.C.M.) indicates that "the traditional concept of supervision (regarding field-work) has no place in the field work programme". The master-and-servant relationship between the supervisor and the field-workers was the main feature of the "traditional" concept of supervision. In the modern context, the supervisor must be as much a trained worker as the field-worker is. He is to be the friend, philosopher and guide of the field-workers. But he must never give the impression that he is imposing some decision on them. This delicate problem concerning the relationship between the supervisor and the field-workers is solved, to a great extent, the Report suggests, if field-work is left with trained social welfare agencies. (*Ibid*, Introduction and Chapter I).

Here, college students or students of upper classes of the High Schools or the army sitting idle during peacetime can help. Students may be given some diplomas or certificates of honour. None should work gratis. Properly paid tabulation work becomes scientific; wholtime field-work achieves Swiss-watch precision.⁵⁴

Field-works of different States of India must be correlated. All-India planning for national prosperity can then wear a rabbit-skin smoothness and a silken uniformity. Otherwise, national reconstruction is bungled. The nation itself crumbles.

The opinions of many seasoned Indian field-workers are to be carefully noted. Dr. P. K. Mukherjee, a noted Indian social surveyor, points out that a purely factual type of socio-economic survey becomes rather mechanical. Statistical surveys

⁵⁴ *The Report of the Seminar on Field-work Supervision* published by the Delhi School of Social Work mentions some difficulties if students, completely untrained, are recruited for social service. They are between adulthood and adolescence and sometimes, their adolescent characteristics become more pronounced than their mature understanding of the social problems. Only through slow training can the students be emotionally prepared for a thorough field-work. (*Ibid*, pp. 10-12). Much useful work, the Report suggests, can be expected from "the group meetings" of the student-field-worker and the supervisor. "On the part of both student and supervisor there must be warmth, honesty, fairness, acceptance, respect, openness and receptiveness." (*Ibid*, p. 26). Some of the typical problems faced by the supervisor, as listed by the Report, are—to know the pattern of assignment with clients or groups which the student is prepared to carry; the learning expectations of the school may not be in line with what the social welfare agency can offer to the student; the practical experience of each term being of a specialised nature, it is difficult to provide continuity, learning the different phases of social work. (*Ibid*, Chapter VI). The Government of India generally takes the help of the N. C. C. (National Cadet Corps) for supplementing the work of the Community Development Projects. It has recently formulated a scheme for National Service. Social scientists like Harrod, however, suggest that full-time field-workers should be appointed in conducting planning-research. In order that planning does not become a descriptive work of the mere cataloguer, he suggests that policy-making on the basis of the collected information should be the function of the expert social scientists. (*Vide* Harrod's article, *Scope and method of Economics in Economic Journal*, Volume 48, September, 1938).

tend to become more so. The reason is that such surveys cannot fully explain how the economy functions nor can they account for any deep-seated characteristic in the economy or for any subtle change taking place in the economy. Specially, in conducting economic surveys in villages like those of India, the implications of the numerous details to be studied, are not and cannot always be precisely laid down. Data-gathering methods are not and cannot also be properly drawn up. As a result, many such surveys become no more than mere tabulation of facts and figures instead of being explanatory revelations of the integral operations of the separate aspects of the planned economy, so important for linear programming.⁵⁷

Statistically-mindedness of the people depends mainly on education. Publicity-squads of the State-governments of India and social education centres must, therefore, crowd the rural picture.⁵⁸ With gradual stages, adult education may favourably alter the minds of the people, taboos may die a natural death at last.

Statistical machines must be freely used. Their use needs open encouragement. Gigantic electronic brains must co-operate with the vigorous brawns and mature intellect of the field-workers.

In a conditioned social framework, then, social survey through field-work and statistics can play the main side-part, but not the part of the hero, in the drama of national planning. Certain values need development, technical and general education requires nourishment and, above all, people must be made statistically-minded. Even under these stringent conditions, social survey through statistical field-work can solve many socio-politico-economic problems of an underdeveloped country like India.

The population-problem of India deserves serious scrutiny

⁵⁷ Dr. P. K. Mukherjee — *Economic Surveys in Underdeveloped countries : A study in Methodology*.

⁵⁸ How to make the people plan-conscious is a great problem of social psychology. The implications of this problem in planning will be discussed subsequently.

first. Man-power is the prime mover to-day. A modern nation can ignore it only at its peril. Man-power is concerned with every nook of the social planning of India like food-planning or gauging the mobility and supply of labour, agricultural or industrial. The statistician can help the national planner in such fields of vital statistics. Statistics in such cases helps the study of fertility and mortality ratios, occupational distribution of population and per capita income. The distribution of population is a highly fascinating statistical study. Why, for example, the density of population is so thick in the fertile, developed and healthy areas of the active parts of the Ganges delta? Why, again, it is thin in the decaying areas of this moribund delta where productivity is low and development so slow? In answering these and other questions, the statistician is the best helper.

Economic classification of agricultural and industrial regions in India can be easily drawn up by the statisticians. From the reports of the enumerators, supervisors can work out a dummy sketch. The statistical law of distribution can, again, be much helpful. This law may be traced through curves of concentration, showing concentration of the volume of production and concentration of the means of production. Productivity can then be estimated with the least percentage of error. The average yield per acre may be roughly calculated by the statistical crop-forecasting processes. More ambitious plans of cultivating potatoes or *rabi* crops may then be experimented with.

Quality-control and other industrial measurements through statistics are novelties in India to-day. Till the other day, standardization of weights and measures was unheard of in India. The tea India exported to Germany was often badly packed. Nor was its quality up to the expected standard. Both internally and externally, the quality of Indian products can be standardized, so far as domestic and foreign consumptions are concerned.

Family budgets to-day have a recognized place in planning. They reveal how distribution of income takes place among different social strata. They assess the changes in the level of national income. Family budgets of all types of workers, industrial or agricultural, can be statistically graphed. With the help

of correlation coefficients, the standard error may be determined. A neat, clean, truthful family budget may then come out. The same process may bring out the relation between birthrates and deathrates in India. Many other problems can likewise be solved.

Sample surveys play an important part in the national planning of a country like India. One cannot organise an all-India planning all on a sudden. One must proceed step by step with new samples in different areas. Biometric or anthropometric surveys can thus be organised. They may be either dependent sample surveys as internal segments of a complete process of statistical enumeration. Or, if need be, they may be independent sample surveys through specially devised computational processes. Samplings may thus be uni-stage or multi-stage. Yet, whatever the form, they help a lot whether to find out the volume of postal traffic or the speed of road development in India; to prepare comprehensive economic atlases of the country or a chart of linguistic demography.

In 1948, The Indian Statistical Institute organised a pilot sample survey project. This was done to characterize the refugee problem. It was an obvious example of dependent sample surveying. Main refugee centres in and out of Calcutta were stratified and units ear-marked. Greater Calcutta was, for example, a stratum. Urban, semi-urban and rural strata were then mapped out, each being statistically significant. Random grids or sample units one sixtyfourth of a square mile in size were then sliced out, so far as the sampling of the stratum of Greater Calcutta was concerned. A large-scale statistical preview of a great socio-economic problem of the Indian sub-continent can be made possible thus alone.

The National Council of Applied Economic Research undertook a gigantic sample survey of the domestic savings of India.⁵⁹ Such a survey is very important as 75% of the total expenditure of the third Five Year Plan was met by domestic resources, that is, household savings and savings of unincorpora-

⁵⁹ Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, Director-General of the National Council of Applied Economic Research, explained the details of this survey at a press-conference. *Vide the Statesman*, dated 17th September, 1960.

ted enterprises. The scope of the survey extended over measurement of the magnitude of savings in India, determination of the class of people who save, the reasons and motivation of their saving and the proportion of personal income which is saved. A special *questionnaire* was prepared. The Council hoped that it would not be difficult to conduct a sample survey of all representative urban and rural Indian households. Dr. Lokanathan, its Director-General, said that this was no mere mechanical fact-finding. Having conceptual as well as operational aspects, it was both a fact-finding as also a fault-finding analysis of the nature and amount of domestic savings in a predominantly capital-shy underdeveloped economy.

The census of 1961 was conducted by sample survey methods. To fight against the apathy of the Indians, specially the villagers and the illiterate, the census was also being conducted by the canvasser method in which door-to-door campaigning is the most important. But this method is also not thoroughly fool-proof. It needs tactful, painstaking field-workers. Even if the field-work is sufficiently rewarded financially, such brilliant field-workers are rarely to be found. Besides, even when the canvasser method is followed, the illiterate, ignorant village folk would try to avoid the 'canvasser' like anything. Only proper education on a large-scale, including the education of the adults, can scare away these evils from the villages of India.

Of late, statisticians favour a reassessment of the Mathematical Theory of Probability. Very inadequate this theory may seem. Still, everybody admits that it builds a bridge "between sharply defined but artificial country of mathematical logic and the nebulous shadowy country of what is often termed the real world." In an underdeveloped country like India, the conditions for building up an ideal organisation of statistical planning may grow only lately. How else can then be a big-scale statistical comprehension of the huge social reality without a homeopathic dose of the Probability Theory in the initial stage of statistical planning?⁶⁰

⁶⁰ A fairly comprehensive list of items concerning social welfare on which further social survey research through field-work and statistical sampling may be undertaken, has been prepared by the present researcher. *Vide* Appendix B at the end.

India slept so long. But the sleeper awakes. She has awakened into a sleeper refreshed. She no longer yawns. She feels like going ahead. Go ahead she must, though so many complex, gigantic problems of national reconstruction lag behind, so many Rubicons she has to cross. Her Five Year Plans are like so many steps of a large staircase leading to a level of socially desired and worked out individual happiness. The sub-conscious in her is a reasonable optimist. Statistics can, with other social sciences, help her in the supreme hour of her knowing herself.

SOCIOMETRY AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF GOVERNANCE

The methodology of planning touches all the aspects of the social *milieu*. A synthetic methodology with an empirical bias is the socially valid methodology for planning. Pure empiricism has its limitations. It might transform the sociology of planning into a narrow normative scientific system in which value-terms (like the *Welfare State*) and ideological considerations (like personal freedom in a planned society) are to be ruthlessly left out. But such transformation of the social aspects would signify the death of the social set-up itself. Indeed, society exists for a purpose. Again, purely empirical generalisations are not possible in social sciences. The data for the generalisations of social experiences are not as stationary as they are in purely mathematical sciences. The human element involved in social sciences introduces factors of non-predictability into the generalisations of social sciences. Yet, as the synthetic empirical methodology becomes more and more perfect, as social statics and social dynamics co-operate, the conceptual side of the social sciences would be more and more clear and systematic. It would not be difficult for the social scientist to speak in terms of a *sociometry*, a 'quantified' system. But this system can, at best, become something like a natural science of the society. In his search for a proper methodology, the planner, specially, the field-worker and the statistician, must remember this important point.

The most significant task of the social scientist is, "to assimilate the pace of scientific discovery" into "the social

and governmental processes".⁶¹ The sociometrician must not build up a system of 'new scholasticism'. He may make the terms and symbols of sociometry more precise and, to some extent, mathematical. But he must make himself intelligible to the ordinary people, remembering the significant remark of Goethe that "it is easy to rule but difficult to govern". In other words, the sociometrician must remember that governance is as much socially scientific as it is philosophically valuable, that a social and political decision like that of planning must not be so highly technical a set of equations "that only a major computer can handle them and only a Ph. D. can understand the solution when it is presented".⁶² In that case, it would be a tragedy,—like (scientifically supposed) the future death of earth of coldness due to the death of the sun of heat-radiation, in the midst of extreme heat in other stars, — the emergence of "a neon-lit dark age of the manipulative society, in which the instruments of formation of character and opinion are so firmly in the hands of a ruling elite that their tyranny is unshakable."⁶³ The real way to avert such a methodological crisis would lie, in the opinion of Professor Pollock, in the proper synthesis between the social sciences and the social philosophy. Himself a teacher of politics, he suggests, like Aristotle, that politics should occupy the position of the leader in working out this synthesis. "Economic and social problems occur," he says, "in their most vital form in the political-legislative-administrative processes, and we must insist on the primacy of the subject. Notwithstanding the development of digital computers, electronic brains, and automatons, the need remains for governments to make right decisions that reflect sound judgments as well as scientific facts. Despite the present preoccupation with rockets and missiles, inner space is still more important to us than outer space, and man is still

⁶¹ *Vide* the presidential address of Professor James Pollock of the Michigan University at the Fourth World Congress of the International Political Science Association held at Rome, September, 1958. (Published in the *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. XX, no. 1, 1959 under the title, *Political Science in the Nuclear Age*).

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 5.

⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 5.

his own greatest danger ... We must somehow learn to control and assimilate our scientific developments and see that they are utilised for our welfare and not for our destruction. The nuclear age is calling to political science to take its rightful place and in controlling and managing the scientific revolution which threatens to engulf us."⁶⁴

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 7.

CHAPTER III

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF PLANNING

THE PROBLEM OF FREEDOM : THE ETHICS OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING

The empirical study of planning does not fully disclose the objective nature of the society to be planned. A proper study of the problems of planning must be methodological as well as substantive. Normative sciences of the society would help the planner to a limited extent, in so far as they conceptualise the rules and principles through the empirical process. A synthetic study of the social science as also the social philosophy of planning should be the main interest of the social scientist *qua* social planner. Social sciences, that is to say, must establish a healthy partnership with conditions of the human mind working in the society and the conditions of stability, peace and justice which the social system in a planned society would try to promote.¹ This is why a planner, after the conceptual formulation of the basis on which planning can take place scientifically, must reflect,

¹ This is the concluding observation of the previous Chapter. It is interesting to find that Quincy Wright, the celebrated American writer on International Law and International Relations, thinks that a scientific as well as a philosophical view can work out a synthesis which would serve as the methodological basis of an all-round study of the dynamic international society. (*Vide* his books, *Problems of stability and Progress in International Relations*, pp. 17-18, 117-120, 127, 175-179, 199, and *The study of International Relations*, p. 108, 140, 396-397). His thesis is applicable also to the municipal society that undertakes planning.

philosophically, on the value-content or the *telos*-content of such basis. When the job of the *Method* is done, the job of the *Telos* begins.

"Planning", reports the Indian First Five Year Plan, "is essentially an attempt at working our rational solution of problem, an attempt to co-ordinate means and ends ; it is thus different from the traditional hit and miss methods by which reforms and reconstruction are often undertaken. Planning involves the acceptance of a clearly defined system of objectives in terms of which to frame over-all policies. It also involves the formulation of a strategy for promoting the realisation of a strategy, for promoting the realisation of the ends defined."² Planning means preview of the series of activities which are manipulated executions of ends desired in a way predetermined. It includes choice of objectives and techniques of achieving those objectives. Thus it is quite clear that planning offers the most striking case where methodology and teleology are to be correlated so that the most fruitful results can be achieved through a readjustment of the material and spiritual factors of the people.

The first teleological point which draws the attention of the planner, as a philosopher, is the problem of protecting freedom in a planned society.

In recent times, the group of German writers headed by Max Weber, von Mises and Hayek forms the most formidable attack on the type of collectivism which is inherent in economic planning, specially in socialist planning.³ Planning, Hayek thinks, can only be centralist planning and the zeal for planning means nothing but fanaticism which Mussolini took as 'inevitable'. Planning, in the opinion of Hayek, leads only to

² *First Five Year Plan* (A Government of India publication), Chapter I, para 3.

³ Hayek and others — *Collectivist Economic Planning*, pp. 33, 92 and 110. Also, Hayek's *The Road to serfdom*, pp. 32, 40, 41 52, 66, 89 and 114, and his *Individualism and the social order*, p. 79 ; Ludwig von Mises — *Socialism*, pp. 28, 99. Also, his *Bureaucracy*, pp. 16, 20. Walter Lippman also holds similar views. *Vide* Hayek's *Road to Serfdom*, p. 21. Lippman says that "the nemesis of the planned society" is the utter negation of civil liberty in the State. *Vide* his book, *Planning Vs. Democracy*.

managerial dictatorship. Opposition to the Planning Authority would mean death by slow starvation. The old principle, "who does not work shall not eat," will be replaced by a new one, "who does not obey shall not eat". Under collectivist planning, Hayek apprehends, the worst get at the top. Economic planning, in his opinion, leads to centralist socialism which, again, can easily be reduced to Fascism with a fanatic worship of brute force. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat will be transformed into a Dictatorship over the Proletariat with a ruling junto of *petit bourgeoisie* at the head. Hayek dislikes the control of the production of wealth under such a system of planning, because in the name of economic planning, the planners would control all sections of human life.

But it is evident that writers like Hayek have only seen the dark sides of a planned society and have entirely overlooked the benefits from planning. A planned society is not necessarily detrimental to freedom. There is much truth in the saying that planning is a means, not an end and it is just as possible to plan for freedom as to plan for anything else. Secondly, in the absence of a planned society, there will not be any society at all. The world will be transformed into an African jungle, the strong will overpower the weak, extreme *laissez-faire* and the conditions of the Hobbesian State of Nature will prevail. Thirdly, a planned society may augment individual freedom instead of destroying it. Free choice of employment will never be a reality without planning. Political freedom will be a mockery if economic pressure forces the worker to accept the first available job. Finally, the evils of bureaucracy, the possible dangers of dictatorship, the too much centralization of political authority — all these evils which writers like Hayek associate with economic planning, may be overcome if there are adequate safeguards like an effective, enlightened public opinion; an honest and intelligent civil service under popular control; an impartial, progressive judiciary; a healthy, responsible Opposition Party; a society devoid of vested interests; a balance between centralization and decentralization. With these conditions, planning and freedom may be, and are actually being, synthesized by Democratic Social Service

States following the Synthetist-Empiricist methodology of trial and error.

Moreover, even Hayek stands for some amount of planning when he says — "To prohibit the use of certain poisonous substances, or to require special precautions in their use, to limit working hours or to require certain sanitary arrangements, is fully compatible with the preservation of competition. The only question here is whether in the particular instance the advantages gained are greater than the social costs which they impose."⁴ Hayek wants liberalism and not *laissez-faire*. But the 'liberalism' which he welcomes in the course of the following remark, offers sufficient scope for economic planning — "The liberal argument is in favour of making the best possible use of the forces of competition as a means of co-ordinating human efforts, not an argument for leaving things just as they are."⁵ At the same time, Hayek supports Democracy which he defines as "essentially a means, a utilitarian device for safeguarding internal peace and individual freedom."⁶ This acceptance of 'utilitarian' Democracy as the ideology for 'co-ordinating human efforts' takes away the force with which Hayek argues so strongly against all sorts of planning.

It is rather strange that a social scientist of the eminence of Hayek fails to read history correctly. Fascist and Nazi planning had their roots in socio-economic contexts altogether different from the context in which planning takes place in modern progressive democracies. In Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, there was no settled democratic tradition. Germany, specially, after her defeat in the first World War, was facing an acute economic crisis due to inflation and foreign indebtedness involved in the payment of reparations. Italy, though victorious in the first World War, was economically no better off than Germany. In both Italy and Germany, the middle class intelligentsia became thoroughly apathetic and indifferent as regards the social, political and economic events taking place in those countries.

⁴ Hayek — *The Road to Serfdom*, p. 28.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 27.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 52.

Finer says that "it is only Hayek's conception of planning which is undesirable and impossible, not the reality of planning which the men and groups and the electorates who are actually interested in planning desire to see enacted and administered."⁷ The most fundamental mistake of Hayek lies in the fact that he completely identifies democratic planning with totalitarian planning; he believes as if all types of planning are equally alike. But if planning is democratic, there is no danger from it. The democratic planning is planning of the people, for the people, by the people.

There is a fundamental difference between democratic planning and totalitarian planning. Under the totalitarian scheme of planning, there is a marked unconcern of the rulers with the philosophy of freedom and of government; there is a body of rulers who are irremovable and unopposable; private enterprise and initiative are destroyed, replaced by ruthless state-management; economic and political powers are polarised; social life, in all its aspects, is regimented; all possibilities of social conflicts are supposed to be vanished under the pressure of extreme collectivism.

In reality, however, the gains from such collectivist planning are anti-libertarian. Individuals lose initiative and interest for the collective social actions with which they are asked to co-operate. The creative spirit of the individuals is nipped in the bud. Social conflicts do not actually disappear but go underground, surge and smoulder within the body politic.

Under libertarian, that is, democratic planning, the planning-policy is formulated by the elected representatives of the people. People are taken into confidence in every step of the planning-process. A philosophy of democratic government is accepted as the ideological basis. Freedom is recognised as an end to be realised by all means. Government is removable and opposable. It acts as a responsible social-service-agent. This is what Barker means when he says that a democratic State 'is an engineering business', when the interests of the whole community and its

⁷ Finer — *Road to reaction*, p. 27.

members are simultaneously conceived of, when it is supposed that all their activities can be adjusted and planned for producing the greatest amount of individual and social good with the minimum of effort and sacrifice.⁸

The fundamental principle of libertarian planning is that individual initiative and creative spirit must be protected. Conflict of interests would occur due to the acceptance of the principle of freedom. However, under the over-all regulation of the economic policy by the democratic State and the ethos of voluntary co-operativism, such conflicts would also pave the path for reconciliation through discussion, compromise and moral persuasion at a slower tempo, no doubt, than that of the totalitarian regimes, but on a sounder and surer footing. The difference between totalitarian planning and libertarian planning is, thus, a difference of their respective *tempo* and *ethos*.

Planning is to be accomplished by the authority of the State or government, as its agent. To know the difference between totalitarian planning and libertarian planning, a distinction must be drawn between 'authority' and 'power'. 'Authority' signifies legitimacy, a function which is recognised by the people of the State. 'Power', however, might mean infinite, if not illegitimate, claims of the ruling body, so that it can do what it likes. Libertarian planning is a social activity in which individuals are persuaded to co-operate. People who constitute the society, authorise their elected representatives in the legislature to speak for themselves. Therefore, when these representatives acquiesce in the task of planning being undertaken by the State, the people may be supposed as indirect contractors, in the planning business, with the State. This indirect consent of the people and their direct participation in the task of planning never organise the scheme of totalitarian planning. Libertarian planning is a renewal of the active role of the people as planners which they could not directly play when the policy was originally formulated in the representative democracy. But their direct participation in the common job of planning at last lends this indirect consent a direct

⁸ Barker — *Reflections on Government*, p. 236.

bearing. "The substance of freedom," says Laski, "requires redefinition in every set of historical circumstances, for these give a different emphasis to the impact it makes."⁹ Planning in a democracy is a never-ending process of such redefinitions of freedom in every phase of the social growth within a fairly long time-span. Laski even suggests the establishment of a Planning Commission with top-ranking cabinet ministers for bringing about such redefinitions of freedom at different times of the history of progress of the people.¹⁰

No doubt, an unplanned capitalist system has its merits. Even Marx and Max Weber, who can in no way be said to be the supporters of Capitalism, recognise the fact that the essence of this system is the legal freedom of the labourer to enter into a contract with any person or institution to sell his labour. To this extent, Capitalism is a great advancement on the earlier forms of economy characterised by slave-labour and feudal serfdom. Based on the legal freedom of the wage-earner, Capitalism ensures perfect mobility of labour. Secondly, Capitalism is supposed to protect freedom by ensuring rationality. It leads to the utilisation of individual and social reason to regulate, manipulate and harness the natural and social forces. Such rationality means that the results of a particular line of action are predictable and calculable to a great extent. Science and technology jointly help the capitalist system to produce on a large scale, making labour very productive. Thirdly, an unregulated capitalist system is a hectic process of competition among the producers. Progressive use of the researches on science and technology makes the best firm under pure Capitalism rise at the top of the competitive system. While pre-capitalistic economic order was static, the competitive capitalistic system of the scientific age is bound to be dynamic.

But though theoretically, under Capitalism, there can be sufficient freedom, it is actually found that under this system of production, there is a great difference in the bargaining-strength of the two groups — the labourers and the capitalists. Increased

⁹ Laski — *Reflections on the revolutions of our times*, p. 316.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 309.

mechanisation might lead to dehumanisation and deintellectualisation of man. In Japan, it is said, women who worked in big factories, used to drug their children with opium so that these tiny tots might not cry. Intensive mechanisation leads to deintellectualisation, because in such a technique of production, the labourer is at the mercy of an intellectual elite consisting of scientists, technicians and engineers who decide the policy while he is simply a mechanical performer of some definite work allotted to him. Certainly, the State, as the guardian of the individual in the community, is duty-bound to protect him from such risks and hazards.

There are other special reasons for which the State must be authorised to undertake planning activities for the welfare of the individual. Modern large-scale mechanised societies exhibit certain tendencies which, if not brought under control by the political authority, might lead to disasters. Commenting on the great inequality of incomes in a modern capitalistic society and the concentration of wealth into the hands of the rich section of the society, Tawney observes, "Turned into another channel, half the wealth distributed in dividends to functionless shareholders, could secure every child a good education up to 18, could reendow English Universities and could equip English industries for more efficient production. Half the ingenuity now applied to the protection of property could have made most industrial diseases as rare as small pox, and most English cities into places of health and even of beauty."¹¹ Pointing out the undesirable effects of gigantic industrial corporations in the U.S.A., President Franklin Roosevelt remarks, "... the liberty of democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state itself."¹² Lord Keynes, the most outstanding modern economist, suggests¹³ that planning must be undertaken as contra-cyclical measures in the shape of public works policy

¹¹ Tawney — *The Acquisitive Society*, p. 90.

¹² Quoted by Seldes in his book, *One Thousand Americans*, p. 6.

¹³ Keynes — *General theory of employment, interest and money*, pp. 82-83, 372-381.

like constructing roads, bridges and undertaking other public utility jobs just to stimulate the volume of employment in a capitalist system and prevent trade-cycles. Lewis thinks that planning must be undertaken in a capitalistic system because it would remove much wastage of resources of the society.¹⁴ The great socialist leaders, Sidney and Beatrice Webb define a planned society as one in which the productive operations are organised "not for swelling the profit of the few but for increasing the consumption of the whole community".¹⁵ They argue that a planned economy tries to reach this goal replacing the automatic, self-regulating economic system in which supply is supposed to balance under the stimulus of competitive profit-motive and dynamic pricing, by a system "under which future needs are estimated, production is directed and controlled, and distribution is organised." If material happiness of human beings is to be bettered, this can be done only through planning. This is why Graham Wallas has remarked, "Each giant organisation has voluntarily to plan its conduct so that it commands the greatest allegiance of its members, so that it works in harmony with others".¹⁶ Unless there is planning, such a harmonisation of the conflicting economic interests of all individuals in the society cannot at all materialise. It may now be understood why even Herbert Spencer, the great champion of laissez-faire, could not but support some type of regulation of human conduct by the political authority. He explains his position with reference to his famous Law of Equal Freedom thus — "... every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man".¹⁷ Karl Mannheim, the most outstanding sociologist of modern times, thinks that an unplanned politico-social set-up is characterised by a lengthy gap between the rich and the poor. In such a society, the integral paradigmatic experience of the total personality is completely eliminated.¹⁸

¹⁴ Lewis — *The principles of economic planning*, pp. 12-14.

¹⁵ Sidney and Beatrice Webb — *Soviet Communism, A new civilization*, pp. 490-498.

¹⁶ Graham Wallas — *The Great Society*.

¹⁷ Spencer — *Social Statics*, Ch. VI.

¹⁸ Mannheim — *The diagnosis of our time*.

An unplanned capitalistic society is a society divided in itself. According to MacIver, it tends to 'anomy'. Man becomes spiritually sterile, morally detached, intellectually insulated. He is bound to be very lonely. He tends to react violently upon the slightest provocation. It is too risky to expose him thus to the tugging vicissitudes of a greedy society.¹⁹ As Ropke points out, planning tries to prevent such undesirable consequences, replacing 'the mechanism of competitive market by commands from above' and transferring 'the all-important decision over the use of productive forces of the community into the office of a government department'.²⁰

Bertrand Russell, the great champion of the cause of liberty in modern times, observes, "Our emancipation from bondage to external nature has made possible a greater degree of human well-being than has ever hitherto existed. But if this possibility is to be realised, there must be freedom of initiative in all ways not positively harmful, and encouragement of those forms of initiative that enrich the life of Man. . . . Daily joys, times of liberation from care, adventure, and opportunity for creating activities, are at least as important as justice in bringing about a life that men can feel to be worth living."²¹ But even such a great fighter for civil liberty cannot but point out the evils associated with uncontrolled power-politics.²² Without the regulation of the community, he says, the same initiative of the individual which should be encouraged, might produce completely opposite actions in the shape of crimes. Power, therefore, must be 'tamed'. That is to say, there must be a diversion of the love of power from harmful to beneficial channels. Power represents the will to create intended effects on the external world and is a part and

¹⁹ MacIver — "Descent to Anomy" in his book, *The Ramparts We Guard*, pp. 64, 66, 84-92. According to MacIver, "anomy signifies the state of mind of one who has been pulled up from his moral roots, who has no longer any standards but only disconnected urges, who has no longer any sense of continuity, of folk, of obligation." *Vide ibid*, p. 84.

²⁰ Ropke quoted by Baldwin — *Economic planning*, p. 19.

²¹ Bertrand Russell — *Authority and the individual*, pp. 121-125.

²² *Ibid*, p. 47.

parcel of the personality of the individual. To be socially useful, it should be mixed up with some other ethic — that of helping others for the fulfilment of their desires. But the method of fulfilling one's desires, Russell advises, "must not be such as will incidentally have bad effects outweighing the excellence of the end to be achieved."²³

Santayana thinks that what corrupts is not power itself; "what corrupts is the new atmosphere that envelops a mediocre nature seduced and lost in the great world, when it had been accustomed to thrifty morals, starved, dumb passions, and provincial habits." The cankers of Dominations and Powers are 'in the heart of the individual.' What is wanted is a brake to such unclouded freedom that tends to corrupt the human mind.²⁴ There are types of power like tyranny of the husband over the wife, of the master over the slave, of the landlord over the tenant, of the parent over his children. A Welfare State plans for redirecting all these misdirected energies of the individual and the groups and associations for better individual and social benefits.

MacIver, however, believes that Power is self-adjusting, that pyramids of Power collapse and are replaced and that Power has the tendency to travel inevitably towards a democratic equilibrium.²⁵ But MacIver's analysis of Power as a self-adjusting process is defective, because it does not prove that a deliberate planning on Balance of Power and on Decentralization of Power is totally useless. A thoroughly unplanned system of power-politics can be used by unscrupulous statesmen for their advantages, for the glorification of the Power-State or Militarism.

Lasswell and Kaplan suggest that Power must be used as an integrative force and as a preventive or regulative factor in the society to stop a catharsis, a revolution or a counter-revolution. They suggest the choice of manipulative and contemplative methods in Power-politics, manipulative in the sense of determining of and weighing the alternative goals, and contemplative

²³ Bertrand Russell — *Power*, pp. 274-276, 283.

²⁴ Santayana — *Dominations and powers*, preface ; also, pp. 330, 389-395 and 445 where this view is elaborated.

²⁵ MacIver — *The web of government*, pp. 97-99, 112-113.

in the sense of finding out the interdependence of standpoints.²⁶ These facts call for a power-planning by the State supplementing its activities as an economic planner.

A pluralist writer who supports the freedom of associations as much as the freedom of the individual, MacIver points out the implications of a plan for bringing about absolute equality. "To keep man equal in wealth, in spite of unequal abilities and varying aptitudes", he says, "would require a degree of all-round regimentation vastly surpassing anything that a dynast or tyrant or dictator has hitherto accomplished."²⁷ Of course, bringing about a standard of absolute equality would surely produce undesirable, undemocratic results which MacIver is so much afraid of. But the truth is that all modern Welfare States do never try to bring about such absolutism, levelling down all differences in human personality all on a sudden. Rather, they try to bring about a type of equality which is certainly relative to the creative ability of the individual as a performer in the social process of planning and also, relative to the social, political and economic potentialities or resources which are to be brought under democratic control. Not absolute economic equality, but substantial economic equality is the goal modern democratic planners seek after. Equality is always a relative term depending solely on the relative level of socio-politico-economic progress achieved through planning. At no stage of human society, can equality be absolute, because at no stage of human civilization, can Progress be absolute.

A conflict between personal freedom and a planned society arises only when the society and the individual are viewed not as partners in the same process for bringing about material prosperity, but as two distinct isolated balloons with no common string binding them together. Really speaking, however, as Catlin thinks, society should be compared to a pocket-watch. If individual liberty is removed, the mainspring is removed ; if, on the other hand, the social content, or social order or what

²⁶ Lasswell and Kaplan — *Power and Society : A Framework for Political Inquiry*.

²⁷ MacIver — *The ramparts we guard*, p. 14.

Mussolini called "sociality", is removed, the wheels of the mechanism are removed.

To-day, a planned democratic society is no longer supposed to be in conflict with individual liberty. It should, however, review the human problems to be solved by the planning-process with sympathy, tolerance and understanding. Human fallibility should be recognised as but a natural fact. The difficulty on account of this fallibility would be more than compensated for, if the individual who is to carry out the plan as a vigorous practical proposition, is ready to offer complete and unqualified allegiance to his country.²⁸ The State which is undertaking the gigantic task of planning, must not forget to plan for freedom along with material and economic planning. The central purpose of such spiritual planning must be to secure, on a popular basis, proper redefinitions and restatements of the claims of the individual vis-a-vis the State as the supreme planning authority.²⁹ What planning tries to establish is not the "brave new world" of Huxley's imagination, — a grim, monolithic waste-land where the soul weeps in spite of the greetings of glittering gadgets ; it tries to build up a many-dimensional humanised world where the body is as free as the mind, where beauty, truth and understanding get a congenial climate of plenty to prosper and enrich the individual outlook. The story, recording past experiences of the planner-States, is to be abridged, if necessary, to bring about this accomplishment in unplanned States as quickly as possible.

THE CHOICE OF AN IDEOLOGY : THE WELFARE STATE

In his comprehensive history of socialist democracy, Rosenberg has mentioned a very interesting feature of the trends of socialist democracy in the modern world : "At present social democracy and the labour movement are particularly strong in countries which lacked an important socialist and Marxist tradition during

²⁸ M. C. Chagla — *The Individual and the State*.

²⁹ Sardar K. M. Panikkar — *The State and the Citizen*.

the period of the Second International, such as England and Ireland, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Mexico.”³⁰ Rosenberg could easily understand the background of this peculiar trend in the history of socialist democracy in modern times if he would turn to the origin and growth of a synthesis which modern democracies are trying to work out through the help of planning. This synthesis is embodied in the concept of the Welfare State. This concept is empirical in its origin, nature and development. “The Welfare State has grown up in Britain as a result of trial and error and was not planned by any consistent outlook of either politics or philosophy. It arose as a result of pressures from politicians, social reformers, social workers and philosophers who put it into words, sometimes of striking value.”³¹

From his very cradle, the new-born to-day blinks his timid eyes amid a planned preparation for the better. Gone the hazards of uncertainty and uneasiness, human life, from cradle to grave, is built up on the granite of a stronger social solidity. National reconstruction follows planning. Planning now bears greater social awareness. The worries of the extremist libertarian are well nigh over. His minute of dissent is no longer seriously considered. Planning and Freedom are no more set against each other as opposites. Planning for national reconstruction this day implies democratic planning in a Welfare State.

All modern democratic States, as Welfare States, follow the ideals of social service and actually practise what is known as “mixed economy”, — some sort of a pattern of “Socio-Capitalism” based on a synthesis of private ownership and investment on the one hand and general governmental planning on the other.³²

³⁰ Rosenberg — *Democracy and socialism*, part III, p. 354. In his book, written in German, *Demokratie und Sozialismus zur politischen geschichte der letzten 150 Jahre*, he makes a similar remark, *vide ibid*, p. 481.

³¹ Desmond Neill’s paper, “The moving frontiers of the Welfare State” (his address at the annual meeting of the Standing Conference of Councils of Social Service at the University of Leeds, September, 1959) published in *Social Service Quarterly*, Winter, 1959.

³² The term “Socio-Capitalism” has been used in this sense by MacIver in his *The Web of Government*, p. 157.

Thus, they avoid extremes and balance theoretical logic and concrete facts. Freedom of the individual and the authority of the State as the planner are harmonised in the modern State through free discussion in the legislature by the elected representatives of the people. Personal freedom, in such a context, is taken to mean the power which enables the individual to make the most of his life and opportunities in the light of his own reason and judgment; and a planned society stands for a society in which the arbitrary, hit-or-miss guesses of actions and reactions of social forces are replaced by an intelligent guidance of policy protecting rights and freedoms of the individuals in the age of group-action.³³

In Soviet Russia, Lenin's policy of complete nationalization of the means of production failed. This experience made him a sadder but a wiser man who introduced some sort of a Socio-Capitalism under the New Economic Policy of 1921. Large-scale industries, transports, banking, foreign trade and some other spheres of the Soviet economy were controlled by the State while many other sectors were restored to private hands co-operating with the State. Gradually, however, the activity of the private businessmen was made limited or their capital acquired by the State. Even now, there is no complete socialization in the U. S. S. R. which is evident from the fact that by the end of the Second 5 Year Plan in 1937, nearly 98% of the land and capital had been taken over by the State for collective use. Private property is allowed to exist even now in communal spheres of Soviet Russia. Thus, still now, the right of private property is recognised by the State in the case of all property owned and managed, on behalf of the State, by collective farms, co-operative societies and rural and urban communes. Moreover, the State allows some qualified right to property in respect of all household utensils and such other things needed for daily use by the Russian citizens.³⁴ A minimum wage policy has been given effect to by

³³ Hansen — *Economic Policy and Full Employment*.

³⁴ This is the opinion of many Indian leaders who visited Soviet Russia in recent times and whom the present researcher had the pleasant privilege to meet. In fact, it is because of such pro-individualistic trends in Soviet planning techniques that many visitors would go so far as to suggest that Soviet Russia is not planning for a communistic society but for a system of State-Capitalism, paradoxical though this may sound.

the Soviet Government in its decrees of November, 1937 and August, 1938. Perhaps it is because of such labour-welfare schemes being undertaken by the State itself that Soviet Trade Unions are gradually receding from the forefront.

In the U. S. A., the State has found, by experience, that complete *laissez-faire* is dangerous and thus it is taking steps for maximising the welfare of the individual.³⁵ The State owns and operates, in many cases, the plants of many public utility services like water, gas, postal and transport services, electricity; sometimes it assumes some control over markets, dairies, play grounds, laundries, coal-yards, bridges and slumclearance. President Franklin Roosevelt's famous *New Deal Plans* were a series of state-aid programmes which largely helped the American Recovery after the Great Depression of 1931. The Fair Labours Standards Act, 1938 has done much to limit the wages and working hours in factories and abolish the employment of children below the age of 16. The National Labour Relations Act, 1935, prohibits unfair labour-practices by employers and gives statutory recognition of the right of collective bargaining by Trade Unions. The Social Security Act, 1935, has provided for insurance against unemployment by forcing the employers to pay a tax on payrolls. As amended in 1939, it also provides for a system of annuities for superannuated labourers. The Employment Act of 1946 empowers the Federal Government to enforce Full Employment by fully using the existing resources. The main centralizing forces in the U. S. A. have been mentioned by Wheare as war, economic depression, growth of social services and mechanical revolution in industry and transport.³⁶

The practical impossibility of rigidly following complete Socialism or complete Capitalism has been clearly demonstrated by Soviet Russia and by the U.S.A. respectively. These are facts revealed by abundant experience in the course of public administration and this lesson of experience is what is stressed in the modern Socio-Capitalist synthesis. That all modern States, and not merely the U.S.A. and the U. S. S. R., are trying to work

³⁵ Wheare— *Federal Government*.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

out such a synthesis, is clear from a study of the Social Insurance Schemes undertaken by them in the post-war period since 1946. These schemes include cash-benefits and medical care for sickness and maternity ; benefits for old age, invalidity and survivors ; employment-injury-benefits including benefits for industrial accidents and occupational diseases and unemployment relief.³⁷

A study of comparative economic systems shows that no ready answer is available to the question — which is better, Socialism or Private Enterprise.³⁸ In the first place, no economic system is so satisfactory that all of its methods and results can be welcomed in an unqualified manner. Secondly, evaluation of economic systems is difficult because some of the economic systems which are studied now are still very young. Finally, very often we have no generally acceptable standards of evaluation. All these conclusions arising from a study of comparative economic systems speak for the impossibility and the imprudence of any utterance that glorifies either Socialism or Private Enterprise as absolutely superior to the other. It is by a synthesis of the acceptable and beneficial features of the two that a third system on the ideal functions of the Welfare State may be worked out.

The Democratic Socialists follow some kind of an ideal of Socio-Capitalism. Durbin, one of the most outstanding exponents of Democratic Socialism in Great Britain, has given a full outline of what Democratic Socialism stands for.³⁹ He is a synthetist, because in his opinion, the evils of Capitalism can be successfully removed through Democratic Socialism. "The problem of policy," he declares, "can thus be defined as the search for a method whereby the virtues of capitalism — rationalism and mobility

³⁷ *Vide* Table No. 31 (pp. 315-321), *The Year Book of Labour Statistics*, (1949-50), Eleventh Issue, issued by the International Labour Office, Geneva, 1951. The latest issues of this Year Book illustrate the tendency of modern states towards undertaking bigger and more ambitious projects for promoting individual welfare in the course of the last few years than those undertaken in the post-war years.

³⁸ Blodgett — *Comparative economic systems*, pp. 543-544.

³⁹ Durbin — *The Politics of Democratic Socialism*, pp. 133-134, 148, 269, 283-284.

— can be combined with democratic needs — security and equality — by the extension of the activity of the State upon an ever-widening and consistent basis.” According to him, first of all, the programme of Democratic Socialism must “not be so extreme that it drives the opposition to it into *armed* resistance”; secondly, “it must not be so emasculated that it fails to retain the active and loyal support of the reforming democratic party that is asked to advocate it”; and lastly, “it must lie in the relevant sphere of policy — the sphere of economic and social measures.” The Democratic Socialist Party, he holds, should conduct ameliorative or social service measures, socialization measures, prosperity measures and “egalitarian” measures. Some ameliorative measures should be undertaken after socialization measures in order of priority; socialization measures should first be undertaken in “some considerable, but limited section of the industrial system”; prosperity measures should be adopted to combat economic depressions; and egalitarian measures should bring economic equality through equitable taxation. After laying down this programme for Democratic Socialism, Durbin concludes, “An opposition between ‘socialism’ and ‘the democratic method’, if ‘socialism’ contains any reference to ‘social justice’, is meaningless to me. The relationship between these two things appears to me to be the relationship between the whole and the part. The democratic method, and the absence of terror, are an indispensable part of my conception of social justice.”

It is quite significant that Ramsay Macdonald, Britain’s first Socialist Prime Minister, chooses a synthetic programme of Democratic Socialism, synthesising Democracy and Socialism. “All change that is permanent”, he says, “must be a change of consent; therefore constructive Socialism must proceed upon the assumption that the representative authority of citizens must be the means of registering and embodying in social and political structure the economic changes necessary to give the community command over its own sustenance and liberty.”⁴⁰

The concept of the Welfare State, though a synthetic concept, is biased towards material or economic welfare of the masses.

⁴⁰ Ramsay Macdonald — *Socialism : Critical and constructive*, p. 265.

"It is a State", observes Kent, "that provides for its citizens a wide range of social services. The primary purpose is to give the citizen security. The estate undertakes to help him if he loses his ordinary source of income."⁴¹ "It is for the Welfare State", says Justice Chagla, "to build the bridge which would enable the citizen to cross over from a state of degrading existence to a state of life which is ennobling and purposeful. The real function of the Welfare State is to make possible the enjoyment by the citizen of real freedom."⁴² Thus, the concrete implications of the Welfare State are concerned with all direct and indirect material gains and also, all ultimate, non-material (including cultural) gains, which individuals are expected usually to enjoy under the civilized socio-economic set-up. The welfare concept of Social Security implies certain benefits due to a man when he is actually in service as also when he is thrown out of employment, becomes ill or disabled.⁴³ Good food, clothes and good housing facilities constitute the bare requirements of a good life. It is the concern of the Welfare State to secure for everybody such first class essentials for the realization of the good life. If these bare minima are provided, then it will be the concern of the Welfare State to secure for the community, and also for the individual, the cultural and educational improvement when he is well out of the slough of sub-human existence.

Hobman thinks⁴⁴ that the concept of the Welfare State is a compromise between the extremes of Communism and those of Capitalism. A Welfare State brings about a redistribution of income, not by establishing a Utopian scheme of absolute equality, but by a gradual process of progressive taxation and re-allocation of the resources.

Beveridge contrasts the modern Welfare State with the *laissez-faire* state.⁴⁵ "On the earlier teaching of the economists,

⁴¹ T. W. Kent — *Welfare State*.

⁴² Justice Chagla's lecture before the Mysore University (Shree Krishna Rajendra Silver Jubilee Lecture, 1954).

⁴³ Cole — *Beveridge explained*.

⁴⁴ Hobman — *Welfare State*, pp. 1-10.

⁴⁵ Beveridge — *Full employment in a free society*, pp. 94-96.

moral and technical considerations in regard to the distribution of wealth had appeared in conflict. Moral considerations suggested the desirability of a more equal distribution of wealth, while technical considerations appeared to require great inequality as the condition of adequate saving. On the newer teaching of the economists . . . moral and technical considerations unite in favour of substantially greater equality of wealth than has obtained in Britain in the past . . . (which) in contemporary conditions of the growth of wealth so far from being dependent on the abstinence of the rich as is commonly supposed, is more likely to be impeded by it. One of the chief social justifications of great inequality of wealth is, therefore, removed." According to Beveridge, the functions of the Welfare State include replacing its own needs and priorities in the field of production by those of private citizens and arming those civic needs with purchasing power so that their demands become economically effective; removing all restrictions on the use of man-power; increasing its own expenditure by reducing that of the citizens through taxes and by borrowing and by introducing restrictions on arbitrary consumption (this increase of State-expenditure thus becomes a transfer expenditure) replacing or reinforcing, as the case may be, the economic motive in the allocation of productional resources through various measures of conscription; controlling prices and wages, making arbitration compulsory, thus preventing industrial disputes; socialising a large proportion of production for satisfying the purpose of its own demands, or reducing gains of private capital by taxes and price-controls to meet the ends of maximum output and abandonment of poverty, hunger and disease. In short, the Welfare State is a technique for controlling big business and monopolistic undertakings, institutionalising savings and investment through State-controlled banks and insurance companies and setting up a system of guarantees through controls, State-aids, grants-in-aid, subsidies and tariffs.

The Directive Principles of State Policy laid down in the Indian Constitution⁴⁶ strikingly hold up the picture of India

⁴⁶ Articles 36 to 51 of the Constitution of the Indian Republic.

as a would-be Welfare State. It mentions the following duties of the Indian Republic : Raising nutritional levels and the general standard of living of the people. Men and women are to be granted sufficient means of livelihood. Within the limits of its economic capability and the stage of economic development, the Indian Republic would secure for its citizens the right to employment, education and all types of social insurance like relief in maternity, old age, disease and disablement. To realise these aims, all material resources of the Republic would be owned and controlled in such a manner that the good of the community is promoted. Agricultural and industrial workers would have to be freed from the uncertainties of insufficiency like unemployment, poor wages, bad working conditions, indecent standard of living and lack of sufficient leisure to develop a social and cultural life. All unjustified wage-disparities would go. Co-operatives and rural handicrafts, agriculture and animal husbandry are to be promoted along modern lines. Children and youths would be saved from exploitation and prevented from being social and moral wrecks. Primary education would be free and compulsory. Intoxicating drugs and drinks are to be banned. In short, the Directive Principles of State Policy, so far as their material and economic provisions are concerned, try to set up a social order on the basis of justice, social, economic and political. As the Indian First Five Year Plan reports, the Directive Principles "do not prescribe any rigid economic or social framework, but provide the guiding lines of State policy. Planning in India has to follow these guiding lines and to initiate action which will, in due course, produce the desired economic and social pattern."⁴⁷

The Indian First Five Year Plan more elaborately lays down the implications of a Welfare State which is the ideological basis of Indian economic planning. "It is impossible", the Plan reports, "to have a plan based on regimentation and on immediate measures for levelling down in the hope ultimately of being able to level up. It is possible to take the view that mass enthusiasm cannot

⁴⁷ *First Five Year Plan* (Government of India Publication), pp. 10-11.

be created except on the basis of reprisals against those classes which have come to be associated in the public mind with the inequities and deficiencies of the old order. But the basic premise of democratic planning is that society can develop as an integral whole and that the position which particular classes occupy at any given time — a product of various internal forces for which no individual or class as such can be held responsible — can be altered without reliance on class hatreds or the use of violence. The need is to secure that the change is effected quietly and it is the positive duty of the State to promote that through all the measures at its command. The success of such planning no doubt depends on the classes in positions of power and privilege respecting the democratic system and facilitating the rapid changes it calls for.”⁴⁸

The A.I.C.C. (the All India Congress Committee) adopted the following resolution on the Welfare State at its Ajmer Session in July, 1954 — “The objective of the Congress is the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth and a Welfare State.” The resolution added, by way of explaining the implications of this objective : “This necessarily involves the elimination of unemployment, the production of much greater wealth in the country, and the proper and equitable distribution of this among the people. For this purpose, the present social structure, which still continues to be partly based on an acquisitive economy, has to be progressively changed into a socialised economy.” The A.I.C.C. again passed a similar resolution at its session in Avadi in 1955. Being adopted by the party which is ruling the Indian Republic still now, these resolutions highlight the picture of India as a would-be Welfare State.

The pragmatic aspect of the Welfare State becomes fully clear when the political implications of this concept are analysed.⁴⁹ Politically, the Welfare State stands for an ideology of qualified socio-economic compulsions to be exercised by the State in its relation to the individuals. Public administration becomes an essential part of the political hierarchy which this scheme of

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, Chapter I.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, Chapter I.

compulsions produces in the planned society. The administrators are to translate the developmental schemes outlined in the plan. The concept of economic democracy which is the economic counterpart of the politico-ideological system of the Welfare State, leads to the growth of semi-autonomous regulating organs of the State like the Tariff Commission; further, the State's ambit of social service functions registers a great increase. All these indicate that the system of socio-economic compulsions, which forms the part of the politico-ideological basis of the Welfare State, gives rise to two major functions of the State — regulation and service.⁵⁰

The concept of the Welfare State rests on a theory of socio-economic compulsion which the State exercises, in its relation to the individuals, in a democratic way. As MacIver points out,⁵¹ the State commands only because it serves, owns because it owes. "It creates rights not as the only dispenser of gifts, but as the agent of society for the creation of rights. The servant is not greater than the master. ... Community is the matrix of all its inclusive and exclusive forms. It is not an organization but the source of organization. No structure, no form of government, can assure social unity. The final unity lies in the solidarity of men, not in the power of the State." Law and State are both "expressions of the social sense, the sense of solidarity, the sense of common interest." In this subjective fact is found the basic unity of society, not in the State, which is merely an agency through which that unity is expressed.

The concept of the Welfare State is, fundamentally, a concept of human nature. Man is not simply an ethical abstraction, not a social automaton, nor a detached figure like Robinson Crusoe without his Friday. "He is moral, social, individual." The State is a human association because it is set up by a morally self-possessed community. It is the impartial organ of the com-

⁵⁰ Robson's article in the *Political Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, pp. 336-339.

⁵¹ MacIver — *The Modern State*, Ch. XVI, pp. 480 — 483. The administrative and managerial aspects of the Welfare State, as the planning agency in the community, will be fully discussed in Chapters IV and V.

munity to enable its sense of justice to stand supreme in the regulating field of communal life. So the State is legally clothed with the force-monopoly in the community which it is conditioned to use strictly according to the moral norms of the community and subject to satisfactory popular approval. So, the Welfare State is a way of bridging the yawning gulf of difference between the conceptual ideas of what the State should be and what it really is.

In an interdependent economy, says Baumol, while each person tries to further his own interests, it is mutually advantageous to restrict such activities by voluntary arrangements. It is only when such voluntary arrangements fail that coercive measures of the State are justified. Moreover, Baumol points out, when the individual wants to follow a particular course of action which he thinks favourable to his own interest, he chooses that course of action mainly, because he is not fully sure whether others would approve of his private choice of a different course of action. "The essence of democratic government," concludes Baumol, "may then be the voluntary acceptance of a central agency of intimidation designed for the attainment of the desires of the public."⁵² The Welfare State is this centralized, voluntary agency of intimidation.

The theory of the State which motivates planning in a Welfare State, clearly indicates that some form of compulsion must be exercised over the individuals by the State as the supreme planning authority and the trustee-guardian of the community. In other words, the Welfare State must be, to some extent, socialistic, if not socialist, in order to bring about a transition from unrestricted capitalism to regulated socialism. Here, as Oscar Lange and W.F.M. Taylor, two prominent socialist planners, point out, there is a danger. "The real danger of socialism is that of a bureaucratization of economic life."⁵³ Lippincott says that this "real danger" is political and sociological,

⁵² Baumol — *Welfare economics and the theory of the State*, pp. 17, 140 and 143.

⁵³ Oscar Lange and W. F. M. Taylor — *On the economic theory of socialism*, pp. 108-111.

not economic — “a resistance (on the part of the government) to novelty, an aversion to innovation.”⁵⁴ But these socialist planners remind that the same, or perhaps even greater, danger can seldom be avoided under monopolistic competition. “Officials under democratic control seem preferable to private corporation executives who practically are responsible to nobody.”

Many sociologists are of opinion that planning in a Welfare State can be successfully carried out only in a large-scale. In these days of gigantism, they argue, it is but natural that public opinion and political party on which the drive and initiative of the people for planning depend, are mammoth specimens in a massive State. As a result, the field of individual initiative and responsibility is very much narrowed down. The individual is only asked to surrender his right to make decision to the superior reason of the planner-expert. An efficient elite maintaining its authority and asserting its will over the people by the rationally calculated use of irrational methods of persuasion is the most disturbing nightmare of “mass democracy.”

The libertarian implications of the Welfare State must be fully remembered by countries choosing the ideology of the Welfare State as their ideal for planning. First of all, they must be sure about their ultimate social values. The social philosophy must be clearly defined. This philosophy must be a philosophy of liberty. If no emphasis is laid on liberty, the Welfare State might, at last, turn into an anti-libertarian, totalitarian State. It must be borne in mind that many of the modern totalitarian States began with the Welfare State as their ideologies. Hitler sought after the help of the democratic constitution of the Weimer Republic to get at the top of an authoritarian State. He even remained in power, doing all sorts of irrational deeds, on popular support, through plebiscite. Nevertheless, in the course of all his misdeeds, he wanted to generate an emotional and intellectual climate in which the mummy of democracy could be preserved for ever. Protagoras, the Sophist, said that “man is the measure of all things, of what is that it is and of what is not

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, introduction,

that it is not." The planners of the Welfare State must remember this important piece of advice. Planning there must be, planning for plenty there must be, but not at the cost of liberty.

The democratic ideals of the Welfare State are often practically translated by parliamentary democracy. But here arise some important difficulties. Parties might not agree to the details of carrying out the objectives of the Welfare State. In India, for example, the Welfare State concept is a favourite topic for the ruling party, the Congress. It is also equally dear to other opposition parties like Communists and the United Front. Yet the sharp divergences between all these parties on the way the ideology of the Welfare State is to guide the planning activities of India, clearly indicate that the concept of the Welfare State, theoretically accepted by all Indian parties, might not be blessed with equal sincerity by all practical politicians who are the High Priests of parliamentary democracy in the State.

The Welfare State raises another subtle controversy when party-politics in a parliamentary government is to be considered. Parliamentary government is a highly dynamic concept. Cabinets come and go as time and tide pass over. One Cabinet may sincerely follow a particular welfare programme which the next Cabinet turns aside. The Labour Party in England thought that nationalisation of iron and steel industry was an important step towards the promotion of material welfare of the community. So, when it was in office, it enacted the famous bills for nationalising the iron and steel industry of England. But its successor, the Conservative Party, de-nationalised the same industry. Obviously, in such cases, controversies might crop up. The idealism of public welfare of the Labour Party and the Conservative Party, each returned in the parliamentary politics of contemporary England with an overwhelming majority, could not be questioned. But such conflicting policies might delay, if not destroy, the long-term planning policies of the country as a Welfare State.

There is another interesting point. Once a party gets power, it tries to consolidate its position. Specially, it might try to gain cheap popularity by undertaking all sorts of 'welfare' plans,

If these plans do any good to the community, it may try to monopolise the credit for the good done for the community by these plans. Even if these plans do no good to the community, the party in power gives them an undue publicity which helps it to catch votes in the next general elections. These are clever, indirect ways by which the ruling party might try to eliminate the Opposition in a parliamentary democracy.

Too much emphasis, it may be argued, is laid by the craftsmen of the Welfare State, on material welfare. Of course, it is true that economic liberty is significant only as a means to spiritual liberty of man. Man is a rational and moral agent. These characteristics of the human personality assign some dignity to it. To fulfil the social purpose of these benefits gifted to man, liberty of the spirit must be fully emphasised. Though material liberty is the basis of real liberty, it must not be sought after at the cost of spiritual liberty. This very important point about the Welfare State must be remembered in view of the fact that many modern States have granted a better standard of living to the individuals without giving them substantial spiritual liberty. Nazi Germany materially prospered under a militant, anti-libertarian regime through the Four Year Plans. Soviet Russia has tremendously prospered under Five Year Plans. While borrowing the concept of Five Year Planning from Soviet Russia, India must remember that material planning should go with spiritual and moral planning. Otherwise, the prosperity through planning would not be permanent in a society with well-fed, spiritually rickety citizens. It may, however, be argued that material welfare is more important a part of ultimate total welfare than moral or spiritual welfare. Yet, one cannot but agree with Dr. Asirvatham when he says that "social change and moral change act and react upon each other. . . . Without corresponding civic and moral change, legislative and administrative changes will turn into ashes. . . . The socialistic pattern of society is an excellent ideal . . . neither the people of India as a whole nor their leaders by and large to-day are good enough for it."⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Dr. E. Asirvatham's paper, "Social Changes in India" in the *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. XXI, No. 2, September, 1960.

Mark Abrams, the leading British social surveyor and field worker, points out some special practical aspects concerning examination of individual and social processes in a Welfare State. He defines a Welfare State as one "where State power is used deliberately to modify the consequences of the normal play of economic forces in order to obtain a more equal distribution of income, earning, property and skills."⁵⁶ In his opinion, these modifications travel through the following three loci — modifications designed to ensure for each citizen a certain basic minimum earning; modifications which try to remove inequalities of income and welfare between the individuals at a point of time; modifications to remove all chances which might produce fluctuations of welfare among the masses within a definite time-span. To achieve these objectives of modification, planning in a Welfare State must depend on systematic social survey and field work. But here difficulties arise regarding the way needs are to be measured, the way these needs are to be met with the utmost economy (without disturbing the pricing process as far as possible), the way to ensure industrial momentum in an economy in which income is no longer directly and precisely related to productive effort of the masses, in so far as the poor would get benefits more than their productive efforts at that stage of economic development would entitle them to. The basic problem of the Welfare State is to 'hasten smoothly and slowly', the transition from an oppressive oligarchy to an economic democracy. The Welfare State "postulates an electorate equipped with an understanding of the general conditions which determine the material and moral health of society; it must understand both the purposes of governmental policy and the means by which these ends can be reached."

Mr. Herbert Morrison, the leading British statesman, outlined five stages of planning in a Welfare State.⁵⁷ "The first, without which none of the others can happen, is making up one's mind to plan and grasping what planning means. The

⁵⁶ Abrams — *Social surveys and social action*, Chapter X entitled *Surveys in the Welfare State*.

⁵⁷ *Vide* Herbert Morrison's article in *Public Administration*, 1946. Also, *vide* Finer's *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, pp. 28-32.

second is assembling the necessary facts and forecasts to make sure that the plan can be put on a sound practical basis. The third stage is actually devising alternative plans and seeing what they each offer and what they each cost in terms of resources and disadvantages. The fourth is the taking of decisions between alternative plans, including the decision what is to be planned and what is to be left unplanned. The fifth, and by far the most extensive stage, is carrying out the plans in practice. This includes explaining them, adjusting them and devising all the necessary ways and means or ensuring that what was planned on paper does in fact happen at the right times and in the right places and in the right way." Obviously, these various stages of planning in a Welfare State show that it is very difficult for the planners in a parliamentary democracy to achieve very quickly what totalitarian planners achieve within a very short time. Parliamentary democracy must solely depend on dashing leadership, mass-enthusiasm short of regimentation and procedural devices and techniques which speed up the plan-process by compressing it within the smallest time-lag.⁵⁸

Ultimately, the success of a Welfare State depends on the efficiency of social administration. To-day, as Titmuss, Professor of Social Administration at the London School of Economics, points out, the emphasis in social services has shifted from quantity to quality. But the results are very interesting. While the social services have been developing within a broad ambit of social needs, many of such services have remained quite stationary in structure, arrangement and administrative management. Such services often lack flexibility due to the heavy expenditure involved in their thorough overhauling. There is another difficulty to which Professor Titmuss draws the attention of all social workers and planners. There is still no proper way of measuring the standard or quality of social service provided by a Welfare State. So Titmuss is right in maintaining that while there is now a general

⁵⁸ The practical, that is, administrative and managerial aspects of planning will be discussed in Chapter IV of the present work. The psychological issues involved in the process will be discussed subsequently. *Vide* Appendix A.

agreement among the administrators and statesmen that a democrat State must plan for social welfare services, there is always the shortage of properly equipped personnel who are to manage these services. There is now a shift towards another direction, — from a theoretical emphasis that a social service is desired, to the practical emphasis that a service is to be the most efficiently managed.⁵⁹ Titmuss mentions another difficulty. The social services are fast becoming more and more complex with finer divisions of labour. This tends to the formulation of new rules and principles for the management of the social services which are couched in so highly technical terms that the lay councillor or public representative cannot properly understand these detailed, theoretical polemics. "Professional associations are not the only repositories of knowledge, but they are the repositories of a very special kind of knowledge; and the establishment of proper relations between them and the democratic State is, today, one of the urgent problems affecting the future of social services." The best result would be found, Professor Titmuss advises, if everybody, directly or indirectly concerned with the planning process, has a knowledge, as thorough as possible, of the social services, in their theoretical as well as practical aspects; further, everybody concerned with the planning process, must have adequate sympathy for the ever-expansive individual and social needs which find expression through the great need for greater and more efficient social services. Everybody must try to understand the nature of these needs which would enable him to study, critically and constructively, how the social services are actually functioning as distinct from how these are supposed to work in an ideal Welfare State. Theory and practice must be married happily to each other. The social worker and the planner must work, not only in their towers of academic detachment, but also in fields and factories, nurseries and nursing homes. Indeed, social welfare administration is the all-pervasive procedural system by which the theoretical implications

⁵⁹ Titmuss — *Essays on The Welfare State*. The managerial aspects involved in the concept of planning through the Welfare State will be discussed in Chapter IV.

of the Welfare State are to be translated into the mother-tongue of the millions whose hearts throb with an excited expectation as soon as a new blueprint of the social planner is announced. "The social services", observes Titmuss, "can no longer be considered as 'things apart'; as phenomena of marginal interest, like looking out of the window on a train journey. They are part of the journey itself. They are an integral part of industrialisation."

THE COURSE OF PLANNED LEGISLATION : SOCIOLOGY OF LEGISPRUDENCE

Planning involves state-interference for altering an undesirable trend in individual conduct so that it conforms to a socially desirable standard. In totalitarian states, this is done by making the people drill and march according to the wishes of militant, power-conscious 'leaders.' A single Führer, a single party, a single nation, a single empire, a single race — through all such slogans, the totalitarian leaders try to create a sense of false security in the minds of the people and make them follow the omnipotent leadership of the 'leaders' led by the Führer. All laws, therefore, become refined versions of the fantastic, oppressive and arbitrary personal fiats which the Sultans used to issue some hundred years ago.

A modern Welfare State which accepts the technique of democratic planning, would follow an altogether different course. It associates the representatives of the people at every stage of the planning-process in committees, self-governing bodies and associations. If the democratic Welfare State would create a common social morality, it would do so after much mature deliberation in popular assemblies. Democratic planning needs the help of a common social morality to harmonise the individual and social conducts in the society. So Law has a very significant social role to perform, a role much more important than its role as a dispenser of the formal, punitive and preventive prescriptions laid down in statutes.

As Bertrand Russell observes,⁶⁰ "In Western communities

⁶⁰ Bertrand Russell — *Human society in ethics and politics*, p. 150.

as they exist at the present day a very considerable measure of harmony between individual and general satisfactions has already been achieved, so long as we confine ourselves to the internal affairs of the community and ignore its relations to possibly hostile countries. The first step in producing this harmony is the criminal law, which makes it against the interests of all but a very few individuals to indulge in such activities as murder and theft."

"Common social morality", says Bradley, "is the basis of human life. It is specialized in particular functions of society, and upon its foundations are erected the ideals of a higher social perfection of the theoretic life."⁶¹ The function of Law is to create this 'common social morality' without which no planning-system can operate under the auspices of the State.

Sociologically speaking, no law can be individually and socially operative without a theory of justice. A statute cannot get the momentum of the start without stepping into the precincts of Justice. Finding no satisfactory standard for Justice to harmonise recalcitrant wants, Dean Roscoe Pound, the famous American jurist, advises, in these days of packed up social groupings, to follow only the pragmatic way of satisfying the maximum social wants.⁶² But this *ad hoc* conclusion of Pound is rightly criticised by Barker because in the absence of a definite standard for Justice, it will be much difficult to integrate the individual wills thrown pell-mell.⁶³ As Barker himself lays down, Justice in Politics is of twofold importance, first, as the relationship "between *man and man* in an organised system of human relations", and, secondly, the relationship "expressed in a joining or fitting between *value and value* in a general sum and synthesis of values". This is a synthetic, humanist theory of Justice. It aims at the neutralization of human and social conflicts more through a fair distribution of happiness than through a mere increase in its total amount. In this way, it becomes not merely a theory of human-relations, but also a theory of value-relations with Happiness as the intrinsic central value. It lays down that a theory of

⁶¹ Bradley — *Ethical studies*, p. 227.

⁶² Roscoe Pound — *Introduction to the Philosophy of Law*, p. 188.

⁶³ Barker — *Principles of Social and Political Theory*, pp. 102 and 171.

Law is teleological and empirical. It is a search for the Philosophy of Law and in search for this philosophical basis, all *a priori* construction of Law must be rejected and the empirical construction, in which Law appears as an 'organic structure', as means to ends, must be the sole guide.

Modern constitutional experts interpret constitutional provisions with reference to their sociological contexts. Thus, Wheare makes the following remark while discussing the significance of a federal government — "It seems essential to define the federal principle rigidly, but to apply the term 'federal constitution' more widely." In other words, he distinguishes between the law of the constitution and the practice of the constitution. This distinction enables him to recognise the difference between a *federal constitution* and a *federal government*. According to him, the expression, 'constitution' implies only the law of the constitution as it is while the expression, 'government' implies the law as also the practice of the constitution. Government is a more dynamic concept than constitution. "A country", he observes, "may have a federal constitution, but in practice it may work that constitution in such a way that its government is not federal. Or a country with a non-federal constitution may work it in such a way that it provides the example of a federal government."⁶⁴

German jurists like Kelsen think, however, that Law is normative. They advocate the Juridical Method according to which Law is to be analysed with reference to its normative content and the force-monopoly which it places in the hands of the law-enforcing authority to enforce the law. The function of Law, Kelsen holds, is to widen the scope of the existing jural and penal system by progressively increasing the ambit of such enforceable rules, to strengthen the hands of the sovereign authority so that it possesses greater, still greater, force-monopoly.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Wheare — *Federal Government*, pp. 11-22.

⁶⁵ Kelsen — *Das Problem des Souveränität und der Theories des Völkerrechts*. Though Kelsen applies the Juridical Method to the analysis of International Law, he argues for the application of the same method to the analysis of municipal law.

But the Juristic Method, so strongly championed by Kelsen and other German jurists, does not indicate how the ambit of the legal system is to be expanded by introducing new enforceable rules and strengthening the force-monopoly of the sovereign authority.

The greatest service of the political theorists like Laski, MacIver, Barker, Duguit and Krabbe, who are known as the pluralist writers on sovereignty, lies in the way they have made the individual aware of the Philosophy of Law. Law cannot be viewed apart from this broad social philosophy or sociology. The narrow, constitutional view of the lawyers regarding the legality of a piece of legislation, cannot disclose the causes of the changes of the legal system, the nature of these changes due to changes in the socio-politico-economic system of a country mainly brought about by a comprehensive reformist State-intervention, democratic or non-democratic, called Planning.

Planning means introduction of changes, slow or quick, into the social system. Such changes are sure to affect the various interests which might come into conflict in the course of the planning process. The sociological function of Law in a democratic society which is carrying out some definite plan, is to remove all such possible conflicts so that a co-operative commonwealth is established through peace, co-operation and mutual good will. India has adopted the socialistic pattern of society and she has resolved upon practically carrying out this ideal. The terminological difference between the words, 'socialist' and 'socialistic' might seem to be intriguing to the constitutional purists and legal *pundits*. It seems that the statesmen who declare that India is a socialistic society, want to clearly indicate that socialism, through the short-cut method of revolutions and coups would have no place in India. She would rather go slow, plan her policies in the course of a graduated, fairly long, time-span, even if that means a delay in the fulfilment of her plan-targets. As India would have to reach the goal of a socialistic society through a slow, gradual transformation of the capitalist society which her popularly elected representatives have not chosen to overthrow overnight by the magic of the handgrenade, the study of

the changes of the Indian social set-up and the corresponding changes of the legal system, becomes, to the sociologist, highly fascinating and enlightening.

Gurvitch, the noted French jurist, has presented a *Sociology of Law*.⁶⁶ Law, according to him, is a social reality touching every fringe of the human spirit which crosses individual barriers to reach the social. As such, a legal study cannot close with tangible and externally visible terms. It must go deep into the behavioural patterns, personal as well as collective, into the conventional practices crystallised in institutions, into the structural as well as demographic density of every material that becomes related to man and society. If legal meanings are to be ascribed to any of such materials, the widespread impact of the meanings on the behavioural patterns in the society, personal as also collective, must be seriously considered. So it is that legal symbols, norms, procedures, sanctions, interpretations, — all move spontaneously by the respective momentum of each, towards the building up of all that goes as legal values which, again, collide against new forces, beliefs, institutions, interests, personal and collective, only to change into something socially more real, perhaps, more useful. This is how Law would become more and more positive, normative and valid.

Socialist writers on the *Philosophy of Law*⁶⁷ point out that in a socialist State, law actively performs two main functions. The first function of Law is what Marx called "the classical function of bourgeois law in socialism." In its preliminary stages, the socialist society faces many contradictions and inequalities which can be resolved with the help of Law. In its initial stage,

⁶⁶ Gurvitch — *Sociology of Law*.

⁶⁷ Like Jovan Dordevic, Professor of Law at the University of Belgrade, Yugoslavia (*vide* his articles in the *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. XVII, no. 3, 1956 and Vol. XVIII, no. 1, 1957) and Professor Rot of East Berlin (*vide* his article in *Die Hilfe*, September, 1956). It is also interesting to find that many pro-capitalist continental jurists like Renner seem to support the sociological thesis that Law is the centre of gravity of society and as such, brings about a desired balance of power concerning capitalist and conservative forces. *Vide* also, B. de Jouvenal — *Sovereignty : An Inquiry into the political good*.

the socialist society cannot completely remove the consequences of class-conflicts. The distribution of the social dividend, at this stage, should be according to the system of justice under the formula, 'to each according to his work.' To enforce this scheme of justice becomes the chief 'classical' function of Law in a socialist State. Specially, if the nascent socialist community is transforming itself from a general state of all-round backwardness, social, economic, spiritual, cultural, the individual would have still to struggle for his very existence. The class-conflicts could not still be ruled out. Disharmony could not be abolished. Individuals and groups would tend to acquire privileges. Some particular habits, traditions and psychological attitudes of the golden days of unrestrained capitalism, would fight their utmost to survive. To destroy such unsocial trends, Law in a socialist society has a positive function. It must be fully prepared to rehabilitate the socio-economic system and pave the path for a smooth transition from unrestricted capitalism to democratic socialism.

In such a society, the State is a necessary institution which would help the individual through Law. But certainly, Law must discharge this function in a new process. No longer will it have to regulate the conduct of men in a static, uniform community, managed by the ruling, privileged class. It would have to enforce the basic rules for establishing a social system according to justice and equality of rights. It must be objective, universal, normative, a thing to be preserved by the nascent socialist State for the future. Law must be the active leader who will have to remove all vestiges of agricultural and industrial inequality. It must help the socialist society to reach the final destination when the national dividend will be shared by the people according to the quantity and quality of labour they invest in its production.

Certainly, the legal system will have to be sufficiently elaborated to make room for a new band of socialist lawyers entrusted with this function. To eliminate the undesirable contradictions from the capitalist community and transform it into a socialist society, a sweeping change in the theory and practice of Law would be needed. To associate the people with this legal metamorphosis of the planned society in a peaceful manner, lawyers

of the socialist State would have to contact the representatives of the masses, undertake extensive tours, observe the minutest details of all types of differences, particularly, if the country becomes big like India and possesses sharp ethnological, linguistic, religious and cultural varieties like those of India.

The second function of Law in a socialist State is to co-operate with the processes of democratization, de-etatisation and decentralisation establishing "social and communal self-management" through co-operatives, *panchayats* and other types of folk moots. Law would have to formulate, regulate and consolidate the new system of social relations which are the products of these sweeping social changes brought about by planning. Law would have to stabilise the new social forces and new social equilibria, safeguard the socialistic rights of the *panchayats*, co-operatives and communes. In such a changed set-up, the old Company Law must be replaced by a new Commune Law. The Law of Contract would be increasingly associated with the public sector when the State itself would be the chief contractor. A new Social Management Law would thus grow up, replacing the traditional Administrative Law.

To associate the people with lawmaking in the new set-up, laws would have to be enacted after consulting social institutions and self-governing bodies like the *panchayats*. Centralism of the State's legal system would serve only the interests of the masses for the uniform enforcement of the absolutely police duties of law. Even these should be periodically reviewed by modified referendums and conventions of the citizens. If possible, some of these police-functions of the State as the centralised law-enforcer, could be delegated to the self-governing bodies provided local men of character and integrity are at the helm of these bodies.

Constitutional Law and Administrative Law must co-operate so that a new system of Law could emerge in a socialist society. This mutual co-operation could be brought about through the process of de-etatisation. State-interference should be reduced to the minimum. Administrative problems regarding the management of social welfare services like education, public health,

social insurance, housing and sanitation should be solved by the local communities or *gram sabhas*. Constitutional law, in a socialistic State, must determine how the rights and responsibilities of self-governing bodies are to be regulated and a fundamental unity in this complex decentralised socio-politico-economic system is to be achieved. Thus alone can an autonomous law of self-governing bodies evolve within a limited centralised set-up of constitutional guarantees.

The net impact of socialist change on the character of Law would reflect not only on the quality of Law, but also on the quantity of Law. Law would undergo a radical change in substance and spirit as well as in norm and content. The empirical force of trial and error in legislation would make the socialist State enrich the legal norms with newer and profounder experiences. Further, the scope of normative Law, in a socialist State, would tend to enlarge with the massive contribution of resolutions, declarations, memoranda, recommendations and such other petitions which the people's assemblies would issue from time to time. In course of time, perhaps, the old, classical legal system of the capitalist order would wither when the Sovereignty of Law would regulate the self-governing socio-politico-economic bodies in the State. A new Rule of Law would harmonise the centralist necessities of the State as the common enforcer of Law in the community and bring about decentralisation of legislation, administration and adjudication through autonomous popular institutions.

No government can operate without Law. A socialist society must also be controlled by a system of Law. A democratic socialist system would try to establish Law as an objective standard for social regulation in which the masses would participate directly. Non-democratic socialist systems do not accept this fundamental proposition on the nature and function of Law which guides the socialistic democrats. Due to this sharp difference between the concept of Law in a socialist democracy and in a totalitarian socialism, evils like despotism, vested interests and monoparty system would grow up, which are conspicuous by their absence in a socialist democracy. Under a socialist demo-

cracy, Law, as an objective, popular process of social regulation, encourages the 'free trade of ideas', helps the realisation of one's best self which, Laski thinks, is the meaning of Liberty.

According to Friedmann,⁶⁸ legislation has a social background. In the laissez-faire days, social change was not the chief object. The letter of law was more important than its spirit. It was Dicey who found out that the sensitive social system acts and reacts, delicately or violently, upon every change in the legislative enactment. But it is the Welfare State, as an apparatus for planning, that has revolutionized the pattern of legislation in modern Britain. Thus, the law of contract has to accommodate the public authority as an interested party, in case its terms are upset. Previously, the property-owner could use and abuse his property in any way he liked. In a Welfare State, property-right is a residual right the individual is allowed to enjoy after numerous public laws have regulated its use through obligatory permits in the interest of social insurance needs and the statutory needs for public employment. In fact, the Welfare State has much of what is termed 'property' from the private sector to the public. Contracts have thus been collectivised, property-laws revolutionized, delegated legislations formalized, administrative adjudications standardized. These point out the pervasive lead of public administration in modern England.

The Welfare State shoulders more and more responsibility in the sphere of social insurance. The legal concept of torts has also undergone a vast change. Instead of compensating for private damages on purely moral grounds, torts now aim at insuring against all sorts of economic risks on purely socio-economic grounds. Friedmann thinks that if legislation keeps pace with the sweeping socio-economic changes the Welfare State is bringing about, if law is roused from its slumber of conservatism and inertia, it will not be difficult for economic planning to reconcile itself with the libertarian traditions of Common Law and Democracy.

⁶⁸ Friedmann — *Law and social change in contemporary Britain*.

Robson distinguishes between 'the lawyer's law' and 'the political law.' As a sociologist of law, he thinks that conservative laws are non-political. But dynamic, substantive laws are political as well as legal.⁶⁹ But Chief Justice Kania of the Indian Supreme Court points out⁷⁰ that the meaning of 'law' is not 'jus' but 'lex', that is, law is valuable as enacted law. This is evident, in his opinion, from a perusal of the debates of the Constituent Assembly of India where the expression 'due process', found in the American Constitution, was deliberately omitted. Justice Das made a similar observation⁷¹ — "We must accept the (Indian) Constitution which is the supreme law. The Constitution has by Article 21 required a procedure and has prescribed certain minimum requirements of procedure in Article 22. To add to them is not to interpret the Constitution but to recast it according to our intellectual yard-stick and our unconscious predilections as to what an ideal constitution should be. The Constitution is supreme. The Court must take the Constitution as it finds it, even if it does not accord with its preconceived notions of what an ideal Constitution should be."

It is obvious that Chief Justice Kania and Justice Das want to put the judiciary in the safe side by upholding such a formalistic theory of Law. They seem to hold the view of Chief Justice Marshall of the U. S. Supreme Court who said — "Judicial power as contradistinguished from the power of the laws, has no existence. Courts are the mere instruments of the law and can will nothing."⁷²

It is true that the U. S. Supreme Court has not yet found any standard, which can be universally accepted as authoritative beyond dispute, for deciding the implications of the 'due process.' As Justice Stone of the U. S. Supreme Court said, "While unconstitutional exercise of power by the executive and legislative branches of the government is subject to judicial restraint, the

⁶⁹ Robson's article in *Public Administration*, 1954.

⁷⁰ *A. K. Gopalan v. The State of Madras* (1950), S.C.R. 88.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Osborn v. U. S. Bank*, 9 Wheaton 738 (1824).

only check upon our own exercise of power is our own sense of self-restraint."⁷³

But in the U. S. A., the system of judicial review of the federal constitution extends to all disputes arising from the day-to-day working of the constitution. "Certainly", observed Chief Justice Marshall himself, "all those who have framed written Constitutions contemplate them as forming the fundamental and paramount law of the nation, and consequently, the theory of every such government must be, that an act of the legislature, repugnant to the Constitution, is void."⁷⁴

By settling constitutional disputes, the American Supreme Court tries to help the constitution function as a dynamic force and enable it to adapt itself to the evolving needs of the society avoiding, as far as possible, the necessity of formal amendments of the constitution.

There has been, in the U. S. A., a consistent growth of utilitarian jurisprudence. The great document drafted by Jefferson in 1776 on Fundamental Rights envisaged the free atmosphere needed for the development of human personality. The ordinance of 1787 declares, "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall for ever be encouraged."⁷⁵ The amendments to the American constitution, passed in 1791, safeguard freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, freedom to assemble and freedom of religion. The famous Fourteenth Amendment guarantees that no one shall be "deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." The American Supreme Court, thus vested with the power to safeguard individual liberty, has created important judicial decisions for the purpose. Mr. Justice McReynolds gives the following utilitarian definition of Liberty in the case *Meyer v. Nebraska* : " . . . it denotes not merely freedom from bodily restraint, but also the right of the individual to contract, to engage in any of the common occupation of life, to acquire useful knowledge, to marry, to

⁷³ *U. S. v. Butler*, 297 U. S. 1 (1936).

⁷⁴ *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cranch 137 ; 2 L. Ed. 60 (1803).

⁷⁵ Quoted by Mr. Justice McReynolds in the case *Meyer v. Nebraska*.

establish a home and bring up children, to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and, generally to enjoy those privileges long recognised at common law as essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free men." Mr. Justice Holmes enunciated the famous "clear and present danger" test with reference to the citizen's right to free speech. He laid down that "the right to speak out or to publish is protected when it does not clearly and presently threaten some injury to society which the Government has a right to protect."⁷⁶ Mr. Justice Brandeis observed in the case *Whitney v. California* that the Fathers of the American Constitution "believed liberty to be the secret of happiness and courage to be the secret of liberty." Freedom of speech has been guaranteed by the U. S. Supreme Court in this case. Justice Brandeis further said in this case that "the legislature must obviously decide, in the first instance, whether a danger exists which calls for a particular measure. But where a statute is valid only in case certain conditions exist, the enactment of a statute cannot alone establish the facts which are essential to its validity. Prohibitory legislation has repeatedly been held invalid, because unnecessary, where the denial of liberty involved was that of engaging in a particular business. The power of the courts to strike down an offending law is no less when the interests involved are not property rights, but the fundamental personal rights of free speech and assembly." Granting of the fullest opportunity to the American for the leavening of new ideas has been recognized by Mr. Justice Holmes in *Abrams v. United States* where he observed that 'free trade in ideas' is necessary so that the chaff is winnowed away from the grain and the only leading ideas survive. Freedom of the Press has been vindicated by the Court in *Near v. Minnesota*. Right to assemble in meetings and discuss matters has been upheld in *De Jonge v. Oregon*. Equality of all before law has been vindicated by Mr. Chief Justice Taft in *Truax v. Corrigan* when he observed, "All men are equal before the law. This is a government of laws and not of men." Discrimination has been condemned in the case *Yiek Wo v. Hopkins*. Fair trial to the accused has been ensured

⁷⁶ *Schenck v. U. S.* 249 U. S. 47 (1919).

in the cases, *Powell v. Alabama*, *Moore v. Dempsey* and *Brown v. Mississippi*. Mr. Justice Holmes has also recognized in *Schenck v. United States* the obvious limitations of freedom of speech and press during emergencies like war.

Many constitutional experts think that the American Supreme Court, while playing its sociological role of a defender of values like civil liberty and individual happiness, can also alter or amend the value-system in the society. They refer to the famous *Gitlow* case.⁷⁷ *Gitlow* wrote a procommunist manifesto in which he supported revolutionary mass action. "There was no evidence of any effect resulting from the publication and circulation of the manifesto." The majority of the Court declared that the 'clear and present danger' test did not apply to this case, for, the manifesto was against certain statutes of the Congress, forbidding some utterances, which must be held constitutional. Whether the forbidden utterances would, actually, lead to a clear and present danger in this case, was, according to the Court, outside the scope of its consideration.

But there are jurists who deny that the *Gitlow* case was conclusive. In a later case,⁷⁸ the Supreme Court rejected the view that under a general statute, the nature of the guilt of the guilty person would constitute a 'dangerous tendency' in so far as his speech is considered dangerous. The American Supreme Court nicely summed up the object of the "clear and present danger" test as follows⁷⁹: "What finally emerges from the 'clear and present danger' cases is a working principle that the substantive evil must be extremely serious and the degree of imminence extremely high before utterances can be punished. Those cases do not purport to mark the furthestmost constitutional boundaries of protected expression, nor do we here. They do no more than recognise a minimum compulsion of the Bill of Rights."

⁷⁷ For example, Dr. Ambedkar, one of the main architects of the Indian Constitution, upheld, while moving the amendment to Article 19(2) of the Indian Constitution, curtailment of freedom of speech in "public order." He referred to the *Gitlow* case. *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U. S. 652 (1925).

⁷⁸ *Herndon v. Lowry*, 301 U. S. 242 (1937).

⁷⁹ *Bridges v. California*, 314 U. S. 252 (1941).

In another recent case,⁸⁰ Chief Justice Vinson of the U. S. Supreme Court held that "although no case subsequent to *Whitney* and *Gitlow* has expressly overruled the majority opinions in those cases, there is little doubt that the subsequent opinions have inclined toward the Holmes-Brandeis rationale."

Though the 'clear and present danger' test is not very precise, it is a valuable working principle and operative rule for the Court to decide whether a particular speech of a citizen is lawful or not. If the legislature enacts a law subjecting some specific specimens of speech to criminal sanctions, this enactment is subject to review at the American Supreme Court.⁸¹

The debate on the value-regulating role of the judiciary clearly indicates that given sufficient freedom and opportunity, a federal court can, undoubtedly, regulate the value-relations in the community so that the community becomes an ideal institution. In the U. S. A., this teleological function of the judiciary has enabled it to protect some social and political values like civil liberty and individual happiness.

Due to the lack of a 'due process' clause in the Indian Constitution, the scope of judicial review is rather restricted in India. Mr. Justice Das of the Indian Supreme Court said that⁸² "in India, the position of the judiciary is somewhere in between the Courts in England and the United States. . . . Our Constitution unlike the English Constitution, recognises the Court's supremacy over the legislative authority, but such supremacy is a very limited one, for it is confined to the field where the legislative power is circumscribed by limitations put upon it by the Constitution itself. Within this restricted field the court may, on a scrutiny of the law made by the legislature, declare it void if it is found to have transgressed the constitutional limitations. But our constitution, unlike the American Constitution, does not recognise the absolute supremacy of the court over the legislative authority in all respects, for outside the restricted field of constitu-

⁸⁰ *Dennis v. U. S.* 339 U. S. 162 (1950).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *A. K. Gopalan v. The State of Madras*, (1950), S. C. R. 88.

tional limitations our Parliament and the State Legislatures are supreme in their respective legislative fields and in that wider field there is no scope for the Court in India to play the role of the Supreme Court of the United States."

Yet, it must be remembered that decisions of the Indian Supreme Court are binding on all courts⁸³ and on all civil authorities.⁸⁴

The Constituent Assembly of India supported the resolution on federalism moved by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru which proposed for a constitutional structure of India in which "the said territories . . . shall possess and retain the status of autonomous Units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of Government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union."⁸⁵

A federal constitution is a compact. As such, it has a special sanctity of its own. This rigid nature of a federal constitution needs a Supreme Court to act as the guardian of the Constitution.

Fortunately, the previous decisions of the Indian Federal Court and the Indian Supreme Court have established healthy judicial precedents which are sure to mould the social relations of the country in the wake of the dynamic impact of planning within the rigid framework of a federal constitution.

An act of the federal constitution has a special sanctity of its own in so far as it provides for the manner in which laws are to be enacted.⁸⁶ The judges should interpret the federal constitution in its spirit instead of its letters. "A constitution," declares Lord Wright, "is not to be interpreted in a narrow and pedantic sense."⁸⁷ However, the interpretation of the spirit of the constitution must have some limits. As Chief Justice Maurice Gwyer of the Federal Court of India pointed out, the Court should not

⁸³ Article 141 of the Constitution of the Indian Republic.

⁸⁴ Article 144 of the Constitution of the Indian Republic.

⁸⁵ *Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of India*, Vol. I, p. 57.

⁸⁶ *Attorney-General for New South Wales v. Brewery Employees Union*, 1908.

⁸⁷ *James v. Commonwealth of Australia*, 1936.

consider itself so completely independent as "to stretch or pervert the language of the enactment in the interests of any legal or constitutional theory, or even for the purpose of supplying omissions or correcting supposed errors."⁸⁸

The Indian Federal Court followed many sociological techniques of interpreting a federal constitution adopted by the Judicial Council of the Privy Council. The Privy Council established a healthy sociological precedent in construing the provisions of the constitution regarding the distribution of lawmaking powers in a federal constitution. This established the important jurial principle known as the 'pith and substance' rule. Under this principle, the *vires* of a provision of the constitution under dispute should be considered not with reference to any verbal interpretation of the same but with reference to the 'pith and substance,' that is, 'its true nature and character'. This principle, established by the Privy Council, was often applied by the Federal Court of India.⁸⁹

The Privy Council recommended another process of solution of the jurisdictional conflicts between the Centre and the States or between the States themselves. If both the Centre and the Units of a Federation demand power over the same subject according to two opposite interpretations of the same provision of the Constitution, "the two sections must be read together and the language of one interpreted by that of the other. In this way, in most cases, it may be found possible to arrive at a reasonable and practical construction of the language of the sections, so as to reconcile the respective powers they contain, and to give effect to all of them."⁹⁰

Planning needs some amount of centralisation. If this cen-

⁸⁸ *In re C. P. and Berar Sales of Motor Spirits and Lubricants Taxation Act*, F. L. J. 6, 1938.

⁸⁹ For example, *A. L. S. P. P. L. Subramanyan Chettiar v. Muthuswami*, A. I. R., 1941, F. C. 47.

⁹⁰ Quoted by the Indian Federal Court in the case, *C. P. and Berar Sales of Motor Spirits and Lubricants Taxation Act*, 1938. This was quoted from the judgment of the Privy Council in the case, *Citizens' Insurance Co. v. Parsons*, 1881.

tralisation comes through the help of the representatives of the people, as is usually under the system of democratic planning, then there might not be any occasion to criticise adversely any central policy in respect of planning which leads to an attack on the autonomy of the States. Much, however, would depend on the extra-constitutional, that is political, developments which would occur when the constitution is fully carried out for a pretty long period of time.

An administrative handicap created by federalism in India is quite obvious. People might encourage their State to beg for more and more central aid on the plea of backwardness. The Centre might, again, plead its inability to supply the same on the alleged ground of constitutional difficulties.

In his first report⁹¹ on the administrative pattern of the Government of India, Dean Paul Appleby pointed out that the State governments in federal India had a tremendous scope for carrying out the developmental projects of India. His second report, however, registers a great change of opinion. He remarks in the second report that "principal responsibility for revenues to be applied to the (Five Year) Plan rests with the Centre, but the mechanisms ultimately essential for enforcing maximum collection are in an important and excessive degree those of the States."⁹²

Dean Appleby points out another constitutional difficulty in the way of national planning in India. Social and economic planning is an item placed in the Concurrent List of the Indian federal constitution. Of course, the Constitution also suggests a remedy. In case of any conflict between the law passed by the Union Government of India and the Law passed by a State government on the same subject, the Union law would prevail. But this might not stop the flood-gate of litigation if the State government becomes very much conscious of its jurisdictional

⁹¹ Dean Paul Appleby — *Report of a survey : Public administration in India*, Published by the Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India.

⁹² Dean Paul Appleby — *Re-examination of India's system with special reference to Administration of Government's industrial and commercial enterprises*, p. 49.

autonomy in case of a conflict with the Union government. Herein lies the great responsibility of the Indian Supreme Court. It must interpret the constitution in such a manner that there is a balance between the opposite forces of contralisation and decentralisation, either of which is as valuable as the other for working out the vital practical policies in the plan-period.

There are some constitutional experts who would insist on the grant of still greater powers to the Centre in so far as the implementation of the socio-economic plans is concerned. They argue that such grant of greater powers to the Centre in respect of socio-economic planning would enable it to take a total view of the interrelationship between the community, the social process and the planning techniques. But this would imply introducing a thorough change in the federal structure of the Indian Constitution which might not only spell disaster of the country in the grip of a despotic Centre but upset the Union-States relations themselves. A practical solution will have to be found out which would strengthen the Centre as the supreme social planner without, at the same time, emasculating the States.

A leading member of the Constituent Assembly of India very nicely summarised the arguments for a strong Centre for India in the following language — "We have had enough experience of provincial autonomy of which we had been enamoured in the past and we have seen its effect. We have seen the centrifugal and fissiparous tendencies that it has generated and we all know it to our cost. If we want to hold together all the component units there must be a Centre which would be able to bring them into cohesion, and that Centre must have ample power for that purpose. This does not mean that provincial autonomy should be ruthlessly curtailed."⁹³

To minimise chances of occasional conflicts between the Centre and the States, to co-ordinate their activities in the context of developmental planning in India and balance the forces of centralism and federalism, planners may take the help of some

⁹³ *Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of India*, Vol. VII, p. 247, speech of Mr. Lakshmikanta Maitra.

provisions of the Indian Constitution, if necessary. Article 263 of the Indian Constitution provides for the appointment by the Indian President of an inter-State council to settle all disputes between States regarding any matter of their common concern. The inter-State council would, certainly, help much to co-ordinate the planning-policies of the different Indian States in case they are in conflict with each other. But this Council is just an informal body. It would not have any power to force a recalcitrant State to appear or take part in any of its processes. In such a case, the authority of the judiciary has got to be invoked.

The rules for grants-in-aid operating in India require that the State government must contribute to the financing of a plan equal to the amount contributed by the Centre to it. But all States are not equally developed from the economic point of view. Both the Centre and the States find that capital formation is very slow in India. This principle makes it difficult for striking out a balance between 'the cost of service principle' and 'the benefit of service principle' so far as these concern the financing of a project under the plan. Here, again, the judiciary has to interpret the rules for grants-in-aid in such a manner that a constitutional crisis can be avoided.

Planning through the Welfare State has given rise to some novel developments in the field of jurisprudence called 'delegated legislation' and *droit administratif* or 'administrative adjudication' as distinguished from the classical concept of Rule of Law.

The Committee on Ministers' Powers, appointed by the British Government, defined delegated legislation as "the exercise of minor legislative power by subordinate authorities and bodies in pursuance of authority given by Parliament itself." According to the Committee, delegated legislation has developed because of the following reasons : first, time-table of the Parliament is very packed up; secondly, the laws dealing with the modern complex life are highly technical, needing their enactment and interpretation by the executive which is directly concerned with the day-to-day details of administration; thirdly, there might arise unforeseen contingencies to meet which the executive is granted some legislative power by the Parliament; finally, to

introduce some amount of flexibility in the operative aspects of the enacted laws, the Parliament has often delegated some of its powers to the executive.

The opinion of the Committee on the need for delegated legislation appears to be conclusive. It lays down that "if Parliament were not willing to delegate law-making power, Parliament would be unable to pass the kind and quality of legislation which modern public opinion requires."⁹⁴

As a result of delegated legislation, the executive in England can legislate on matters of principle,⁹⁵ impose taxation,⁹⁶ amend, alter or modify an Act of Parliament,⁹⁷ and sub-delegate power to any other authority. As Carr points out, "sub-delegation can result in copious orders, the grandchildren of the Act, which were sometimes more important to the obedient citizen than the regulations that were themselves the children of the Act."⁹⁸

The judicial review of delegated legislation is limited. Parliamentary statutes often exclude provision for judicial review. Often the rules issued by the executive are sanctified in so high terms that their judicial review might appear as a sacrilege. Often the courts have to take permission from the Parliament to review a particular piece of departmental order. Thus, the most important safeguard of liberty of the citizen vis-à-vis the system of delegated legislation is the scrutiny by the Parliament which delegated the power originally. The British Parliament

⁹⁴ *Report of the Committee on Ministers' Powers*, p. 32. A recent Survey Report (*Survey Report on Subordinate Legislation* undertaken by the Statutory Publication Office, U. K., vide *Public Administration*, 1952) declares that "the extension of Government activity into the economic and social life of the country has made delegated legislation an inevitable part of Government." This is also the opinion of British constitutional experts like Jennings, Laski and Finer.

⁹⁵ Section 136 of the Poor Land Act, 1930.

⁹⁶ Section 2 of Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939.

⁹⁷ Sections 67(1) and 78 of the Rating and Valuation Act, 1925. These sections have so all-pervasive implications that they are nicknamed, "the Henry VIII clauses", obviously referring to the despotic rule of the great monarch.

⁹⁸ Carr — *Delegated Legislation*.

provides 'pre-natal' and 'post-natal' protection from any abuse of delegated legislation. The pre-natal safeguard includes the important provision that only *bona fide* and responsible bodies can be the proper receivers of delegated lawmaking power.

The post-natal protection from the abuses of delegated legislation is provided by section 3(2) of the Statutory Instrument Act of 1946 according to which departmental orders must be timely published.⁹⁹ Parliamentary scrutiny has not, however, proved to be an effective protection against the abuses of delegated legislation in England. Parliament lacks time and is not also fit to scrutinise the technical details of the departmental rules — the same reasons for which it has delegated lawmaking power to the executive.

In India, there are various protections against the abuses of delegated legislation. Some statutes involving delegation of powers are to be laid down on the floor of the House prior to their enactment.¹⁰⁰ Rule 320 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the House of the People provides for the scrutiny of any possible executive abuse by a Committee of 15 members of the House. The Committee, fortunately, is doing this job well. Among important suggestions offered by this Committee, mention may be made of the following : monthly publication of the index of the departmental rules, full publication of these rules in the Government of India Gazette and placing them for parliamentary review 30 days before they are finally published. As the House of the People is hardpressed by the bulk of work and shortage of time, some constitutional experts suggest that the proper field of parliamentary scrutiny of delegated legislation is the Council of States. They cite the instance of the Australian Senate as the better scrutineer of delegated legislation than the Australian lower house.

Surveying the course of American jurisprudence from the administrative point of view, White, Blachly and Oatman have come to the conclusion that the tremendous increase of adminis-

⁹⁹ *Simmonds v. Newell*, 1953, W. L. R. 826.

¹⁰⁰ Section 10 of the National Highways Act, 1956.

trative legislation in the U. S. A. is due to her transformation into a Welfare State.¹⁰¹

Some landmarks in the history of the growth of the administrative State in India may now be noted. The earliest example of this tendency was noticed in the establishment of the system of guarantees which the Indian railways enjoyed during the British rule. As early as 1860, the Employees and Workmen's (Disputes) Act IX allowed the local magistrates to decide, on the spot, labour-disputes involving compensation when the sum of money did not exceed Rs. 200. Section 4 of this Act stated that there could be no appeal to any higher authority against any decision of the magistrate in such a case.

Various acts concerning agricultural indebtedness and tenancy have been passed. Factory legislation has tended to increase progressively, leading to the transformation of India from a dependent country into a Welfare State. Quasi-judicial powers have been vested, in many cases, with the Registrars of the Indian co-operative societies.

Free India, as a Welfare State, has built up a wide network of statutory public corporations.¹⁰² The Banking Companies Act X of 1949 is so extensive that it grants to the Reserve Bank of India a wide range of supervising powers as regards the Indian banking system and does not provide for their review by the court. Quasi-legislative powers are being granted to administrative departments and public corporations.¹⁰³ Rule-making powers are being granted to the Government of India to decide how the routine-affairs of these corporations are to be conducted. The elaboration of the net-work of social insurance has also led to the shift of a large amount of legislative power from the Parliament to the Executive.

¹⁰¹ L. D. White — *Introduction to the study of public administration*, pp. 530-540. Also, Blachly and Oatman — *Administrative legislation and adjudication*.

¹⁰² *Vide* — The Damodar Valley Corporation Act XIV of 1948, the Rubber Production and Marketing Act XXIV of 1947, the Coffee Market Expansion Amendment Act IV of 1947, the Industrial Finance Corporation Act XV of 1948.

¹⁰³ For example — the Air Corporation Act, 1953.

Along with delegated legislation, there has slowly grown up a system of administrative adjudication. As Barker says,¹⁰⁴ both administrative legislation and administrative adjudication grew up because of the development of the concept of the Welfare State in the twentieth century. Carr says that in England, both administrative legislation and administrative adjudication are not conventionally originated. They are products of Acts of Parliament. They relieve their parent body, the Parliament, just like a grown-up young man relieves his parent of the stress and strain of overwork.¹⁰⁵ Legislative and adjudicative processes have greatly changed in the modern Welfare State so far as their techniques are concerned. No longer are ordinary courts of law able to handle effectively the various technical details of social welfare laws. Had there been no administrative adjudication, departmental decisions would have been more delayed and amateurish, less prompt and specialised. This ignorance of the legislature and the judiciary of the technicalities of governance in the dynamic fields of social action and social regulation has produced the systems of delegated legislation and departmental adjudication.

The old system of adjudication could deal with a simple social system with a single-minded devotion to safeguard individual rights. If it could also simultaneously look into the interests of the general public, it would perhaps be an accident. Frankly speaking, this was the pattern of adjudication in an atomistic individual society. But subsequently, a new social philosophy has been born. Adjudication must fit itself into the complex role of the arbiter of not only conflicting private rights, but also of the conduct and misconduct of the public authority as the social engineer in the Welfare State, and, lastly of the interests of the community as a whole. Changed public interests, policy exigencies and philosophy of the state-functions leaning heavily on its service have justified the gradual expansion of the work of the

¹⁰⁴ Barker's article in the *British Civil Servant*, Edited by Robson. Also, vide Dorothy Johnstone's article, "Developments in British Civil Service, 1945-1951" in *Public Administration*, 1952. Vide also, *Macmillan Committee's Report on Finance and Industry*, 1931.

¹⁰⁵ Carr—*Delegated Legislation*.

executive as administrative adjudicators. Administrative tribunals provide expertise of an excellent standard. If they operate so well as does the Conseil d'Etat in France, there is no reason why they would not protect civil liberty in the sense that they would bring about more individual welfare.

Lord Justice Denning remarks, "The judges of the nineteenth century protected the rights of property with as much zeal as they protected a man's personal freedom or his freedom of speech. In doing so they over-emphasised individual rights and neglected to pay attention to social duties."¹⁰⁶ Administrative tribunals are expected to correct this tendency of the ordinary judges. As Robson points out,¹⁰⁷ the main source of administrative law is the numerous Acts of Parliament which allow the executive to undertake all sorts of social welfare businesses like planning, housing, public health, social insurance and education. The *laissez-faire* jurists, lawmakers and administrators could not dream of such wide extension of the activities of the modern State. Considered from this sociological perspective, none can find any real conflict between Dicey's concept of Rule of Law and the *droit administratif*. Port points out that the administrative process is a reflection of the changing social consciousness of the community. This accounts for the changes of law corresponding to changes of the social contexts.¹⁰⁸

An administrative law grows up through empirical devices like trial and error. From an administrative order of a limited applicability, specifically applicable to an individual or an institution, a system of jurisprudence develops according to which the bunch of such orders produces a sort of chain-reaction in order to enforce a particular line of conduct. This is the culminating stage of the growth of administrative law. Discretionary and interpretative aspects of the executive duties as regards legislation and adjudication thus attain the integration of general applicability. Retrospectively, this piece of administrative law

¹⁰⁶ L. J. Denning — *Freedom under law*.

¹⁰⁷ Robson — *Justice and administrative law*.

¹⁰⁸ Port — *Administrative Law*.

generates a strong impact on the operative aspects of old, out-worn statutes.

Extra-judicial adjudication of inter-State disputes has been provided for by Articles 262(1) and 262(2) of the Indian Constitution which authorise the Indian Parliament to appoint a Water Disputes Tribunal for adjudicating a water-dispute between two or more states concerning the use, distribution or control of the waters of any river or river-valley which crosses the boundaries of two or more States. Further, under the River Boards Act of 1956, the Government of India can appoint River Boards for solving the various disputes, concerning the waters of a river, in which two or more States become conflicting parties. If any State does not accept the decision of these River Boards, the Central Government can refer the matter to tribunals for arbitration; its decision would be binding on all parties concerned. Various administrative tribunals like the Income Tax Tribunal and Sales Tax Tribunal are functioning in India. While judging the fairness of the assessment of an income tax, the Income Tax Tribunals have to decide the fairness of the price-policy of a seller on whose incomes the tax is levied.

Writers like Hayek think that administrative law is opposed to Rule of Law.¹⁰⁹ But they interpret the theory of Dicey too narrowly. As Schwarz replies, "Today both Law and Administration are recognised as complementary not as competing elements of social control."¹¹⁰ The old conflict, says Schwarz, between the monarchy and the legislature is replaced by a new conflict between the lawmaking process and the administrative process in modern times. But sociologically analysed, there is no such conflict. Mrs. Sieghart rightly points out that "it is not so much the fact that modern Government wields legislative powers which makes the position dangerous, as the fact that these powers are undefined and undefinable."¹¹¹

Robson thinks that ¹¹² judicial decisions are judicial expres-

¹⁰⁹ Hayek — *Road to Serfdom*.

¹¹⁰ Schwarz — *Law and the executive in Britain*.

¹¹¹ Mrs. Sieghart — *Government by decree*.

¹¹² Robson — *Justice and administrative law*.

sions of social policy. No policy-decision can be generally thought of which is anti-libertarian. So, in this context, he suggests that the judicial decision should include policy-decisions of the executive which touch private rights. He supports the setting up of a regular hierarchy of administrative courts so that civil rights may be fully protected.

Ultimately, administrative law poses the basic sociological problem of harmonising the interests of authority and the individual.¹¹³ Hart mentions¹¹⁴ three aspects of this problem : first, the aspect of public welfare which is the H. C. F. of the interests of the people in the community ; secondly, there is the aspect of administrative efficiency which alone can bring individual as well as social welfare ; thirdly, there is the aspect of purely personal rights which are supposed to be affected by an administrative policy or order. As the first two of these aspects are mutually complementary but are jointly opposed to the third, steps are to be taken to reconcile the first two aspects with the third.

Justice Mukherjea of the Indian Supreme Court pointed out that two chief characteristics of a judicial tribunal are first, that its decision must be automatically binding upon the parties without the aid or instrumentality of any other authority, that is it should have the power "to create rights and obligations between the parties" and secondly, that its decision should follow the fixed rules of law, not principles of administrative expediency.¹¹⁵ Obviously, Justice Mukherjea here suggests that a judicial tribunal for regulation of employer-employee relations must abide, not by the letters of the law, but by its spirit, — how far 'the fixed rules of law', conventional as well as statutory, help to meet the ends of Justice.

The Indian Constitution seems to be rigidly based on the assumption that the same party will be in power at the Centre and also at the States. Conflicts might arise on important opera-

¹¹³ Griffith and Street — *Principles of administrative law*.

¹¹⁴ Hart — *Introduction to administrative law*.

¹¹⁵ *Bharat Bank Limited V. Employees of the Bharat Bank Limited*, S. C. R., 459, 1950.

tive and procedural matters involved in the planning-process if the situation is otherwise. Some of these patent conflicts might arise in connection with the following — reservation of a bill by the Governor of a State for the consent of the President, extension of the life of the State legislature, dissolving the State legislature, withholding of a bill (passed by the State Legislature) by the President when the Constitution lays down that the President's consent is necessary for passing it. By his colourful and powerful personality, Mr. Nehru successfully built up a unique leadership that was able to cement the numerous dissident forces in the country. "After Nehru what?" — this was a great poser for all lovers of democratic planning which so sincerely and, to some extent, successfully, was experimented with in India. There are many students of political science who hold that "an overall weakening of Indian federalism in which the Centre plays a significant role is portent in the future."¹¹⁶ Obviously, at such moments of crisis, the judiciary must save India from disintegration, socially, politically, economically. As the 'palladium of Justice,' it can ignore this comprehensive sociality of its role only at its peril.

The Indian Supreme Court must be ready to serve as a great educator too. Indeed, the legal system existing in a socialist democracy is highly educative. Individuals, groups, associations would be encouraged to learn new lessons, social and political, which would help them to be better lawmakers. Developing without any external interference on behalf of the State, emancipated from all narrow, sectarian legal obligations, man and society march ahead towards building up a new jural and penal system, towards moulding the classical behaviour-patterns, towards holding up the basic philosophy that each social, political, economic, spiritual, cultural change to be brought about by the socialist lawyer, generates novel and far-reaching changes in the jural and penal systems. A socialistic system, which would, ulti-

¹¹⁶ Article entitled "Federalism in India", by Benjamin Schoenfeld (Professor of Political Science, Temple University, Philadelphia, U. S. A.) in the *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. XX, No. 3, July-September, 1959, p. 204.

mately, be transformed into a full-fledged socialist system, would have to comprehend every hope and aspiration of the common man, for whom socialism is meant. May he see the world better, when he departs from this dear old planet, than what he first found out, looking at it with wide-eyed wonder in the infancy of his consciousness.



CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PLANNING

PLANNING FOR AN UNDERDEVELOPED ECONOMY: POVERTY AMIDST PLENTY

To many fastidious specialists, the expression 'the political economy of planning' might seem to be tautological. Planning, it might be argued, is wholly an economic process in every case. In reply it might be pointed out that social and political considerations are so intertwined with economic planning that it is impossible to disentangle these issues from the economic implications of planning. Thus, for example, economic decentralisation cannot be fully and efficiently carried out without a substantial amount of political decentralisation in the form of democratic decentralisation. Co-operative societies have politico-economic problems. Unemployment is not only an economic problem, but it is also a problem of social psychology because the placement of the unemployed worker gives rise to certain socially significant, though mainly personal, problems. Public enterprises in a socialistic community are to be justified with reference to economic theories. But they are to be managed according to the tested principles of public administration.

The National Planning Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress Party defined 'planning' as the "technical co-ordination, by disinterested experts, of consumption, production, investment, trade, and income distribution in accordance

with the social objectives laid down by bodies representative of the nation. Such planning is not only to be considered from the point of view of economics and the raising of the standard of living but must include cultural and spiritual values and the human side of life". Without a spiritual bias, no planning can succeed. As a critical foreigner has said,¹ "contemporary Indian mind, troubled and unsure of itself among the strange new problems of progress, lacks a feeling for its own destiny". Unless a proper attention is paid to the social implications of economic planning, no correct appraisal of the planning-process is possible.

While placing the Third Five Year Plan before the Indian Parliament, Prime Minister Nehru declared that the Plan recognised the supreme importance of curbing the right of exploitation of the masses by the privileged few.² There was a time when the labourer was considered as part of the raw material used in the industrial process. Planning, in modern times, replaces this shocking idea by the new set of employer-employee relations in which labour is regarded as the co-manager, if not the co-owner, of the industrial system. Labour, capital and entrepreneur form the direct, visible partners of the modern system of industrialisation, the consumer being the unseen, nevertheless, the powerful, ultimate, partner of the process.

If any student of social science wants to study the various sociological issues involved in the process of economic planning at any modern country in modern times, he is advised to study the various issues confronting the Indian planners in the course of their unique experimentation with the planning-process vis-à-vis the democratic method of decentralisation. Here are all theories of sociology being acid-tested and one hopes the country to march ahead with the abridged book of the past experiences of the planners of the other countries on the hand, leaving behind very valuable lessons of sociology to be picked up by other still

¹ Mr. M. J. Lasky, an Englishman, writes in an article in the *Encounter*, September, 1958.

² Prime Minister Nehru's speech before the Indian Parliament on September 6, 1960.

underdeveloped countries who read in the eyes of young India her spirit of adventure, her grim determination to go ahead. To them, India is the beacon-light. The success of Indian economic planning through the synthetic system of Mixed Economy, through the political ideology of democratic decentralisation and through the administrative apparatus of the Welfare State, will ultimately decide the future of planning as well as of democracy signalling the victory of the only democratic planner within a ring of totalitarian States. Thus India holds out a challenge before the democratic world, poses the fundamental socio-politico-economic poser — Can planning be democratic? To find an answer to this very complex question, the sociologist of planning must study the political economy of planning with special reference to India.

Underdeveloped countries exist because of their past exploitation by imperialist powers. These are also the areas where socio-religious factors like casteism reduce the mobility of labour. No doubt, at some semi-stagnant stage of the economy in the past, these socio-religious forces here brought about some type of stability. But in later periods, they were responsible for the extreme underdevelopment and chronic poverty of the masses in these regions.

The U. N. Report points out that "while it may be true that no two countries face identical difficulties in the industrialisation process, it is also true that countries at a similar developmental stage face difficulties of much the same kind, and, being subjected to much the same economic forces, often find themselves in very similar situations."³

India is an underdeveloped economy. She has chosen the pattern of Mixed Economy as her planning-technique. Further, she would carry out the Mixed Economy in the short period in the hope that she would ultimately reach a "socialistic pattern of society" proceeding along the path of democracy. Such, in short, is the economic framework within which India has to work out her Five Year Plans.

³ U. N. Report on the processes and problems of industrialisation of under-developed countries.

The chief characteristic of an underdeveloped economy is that there is a strange co-existence, in greater or lesser degree, of unused or under-used man-power on the one hand and of unutilized or under-exploited natural resources on the other. Such conditions develop in the area concerned because of the stagnancy of productive techniques or some "inhibiting socio-economic factors" for which more dynamic socio-economic forces cannot freely assert themselves.⁴

Thus, an underdeveloped economy, as distinguished from a developed economy, is an economy which is underequipped with capital in relation to its manpower and natural resources. In such an economy, employment and investment grow at a lower rate than the rate at which population is growing. Not only are the resources unemployed in many cases, but they are also under-employed. The underdeveloped country is poor because it is poor; for, due to underdevelopment, the people cannot earn, save and invest adequately. As a result, there is low productivity and the development of the country is checked. In this sense, there is a "vicious circle of poverty" in the underdeveloped economy.⁵

An underdeveloped economy is often characterised as an "arrested" economy; for, in such an economy, some particular economic factors arrest, that is, retard, the development. Precisely speaking, these factors include paucity of capital and technical personnel and, of course, the "vicious circle of poverty" itself. The resultant symptoms are alarming indeed. There is always a reserve army of unemployed, unskilled manpower.⁶ There are raw materials but there are no capital and technical skill to utilise these raw materials along with the manpower for productive purposes.

The problem of under-employment is more important in an

⁴ *The First Five Year Plan* (Government of India Publication), Vol. I, Chapter I, paragraph 2.

⁵ Nurkse—*Problems of capital formation in underdeveloped economies*.

⁶ The Second Five Year Plan reported that at the beginning of the Second Plan period, one-fourth to one-third of the existing agricultural labour would be surplus to its requirements.

underdeveloped economy than the problem of unemployment. The underdeveloped economy is highly inelastic in the sense that an increase in employment in such an economy might not lead to an increase in the total volume of output ; it would just spread out the total man-day employment among a huge number of people. Complementary employment-giving factors are not present. This checks the expansionary economic forces to utilise the idle available resources fully. Extreme inelasticity of the economy prevents it from utilising fully the existing human capacities in the biggest occupation-group as also in the secondary and tertiary occupation-groups.

Economists point out that there is "disguised unemployment" in an underdeveloped economy in the sense that even without any change in the skill-structure and capital-structure in the economy and without any substantial change in the techniques of agricultural production, a large section of the population, who are mainly farmers, can be transferred to other gainful, mainly, industrial jobs. There will not be any great disturbance in the employment-sector of the agrarian economy. The same, if not greater, amount of agricultural output can be obtained with a much reduced labour-force. This surplus labour-force, consisting of erstwhile farmers, can bring plenty and prosperity to the underdeveloped economy when they are kept engaged in industrialization. The sub-human conditions of the masses in an underdeveloped economy, their poverty, squalor and malnutrition beggar description. What wonderful citizens these poor boors can be turned into !

Another characteristic of an underdeveloped economy is the existence of "seasonal unemployment". This is a structural handicap in the way of stimulating the volume of employment. In short, the problem of seasonal unemployment arises in agricultural countries like India mainly because agriculture is seasonal. Farmers work for only a part of the year, that is, for the agricultural season. To remove this seasonal unemployment, subsidiary occupations for the farmers are to be organised. In this context, the part played by cottage and small-scale industries becomes very significant. These are secondary

occupations helping the farmers to use their surplus labour-time.

The surplus labour-force may be used in capital projects like the construction of irrigation, roads, railways and factories. But due to the abnormally low volume of domestic savings in an underdeveloped economy, these projects cannot be organised on a large-scale. Capital-imports must be restricted; for, in exchange of the capital imported, the underdeveloped country is not in a position to pay anything which the capital-exporting country might need. To solve this crisis also, economists have offered certain plans. They point out that however paradoxical it may sound, disguised unemployment itself is a sort of disguised saving-potential in the underdeveloped economy. In a developed economy, the relatively "productive" labourers are sustaining the relatively "unproductive" labourers. That means, the relatively "productive" labourers are producing more than they are consuming. This is a sort of 'saving', though this 'saving' is being neutralised by the 'dis-saving', or consumption, of those workers who produce relatively less or are consuming more than they are producing. If the surplus labour-force is transferred from agriculture to industries and other occupations, there would be a reallocation of labour in favour of capital-construction. This would lead to greater domestic savings. The next important problem that will have to be solved is the problem of mobilising that saving for investment. This is why economists say that the development of an underdeveloped economy is self-financing.

Certain peculiarities in the occupation-pattern of an underdeveloped economy are to be noticed.⁷ Where the people are engaged in primary occupations, that is, in occupations like agriculture, the per capita income is very low. Per capita productivity is high in countries where the people are engaged in secondary occupations (like mining) and tertiary occupations (like 'service' functions, for example, transport, banking, insurance). Agricultural productivity is greater in countries where agriculture

⁷ Colin Clark — *Conditions of economic progress*. Dr. B. Datta—*Economics of industrialization*, pp. 48-52.

forms a small part of all the economic activities. As a country advances more, its people tend to become engaged more in tertiary occupations than in primary or secondary occupations. This is the 'optimal' occupation-structure. Judged by this standard, the occupation-structure is not optimal in an underdeveloped country.

High birth-rate creates another serious problem in an underdeveloped economy. Even if the level of incomes is increased substantially, the increasing population neutralises this income-increase. In developed countries, however, there is no such problem. On the contrary, as Higgins points out, population tends to decline in an advanced economy.⁸ The stagnation in a developed economy is due to an imbalance between birth-rate, resources, technological changes and capital accumulation. In an underdeveloped economy, economic stagnation arises due to an imbalance between these factors too. But this imbalance is of a peculiar type. If productive techniques are modernised, if capital is allowed to 'follow up' this improved production, the resulting economic byplay would gradually reduce the appalling gap between low actual output and the high potential output. If a planned population-policy is followed by the underdeveloped economy along with a policy of planned economic development, there is nothing to be afraid of.

The U. N. Report may be quoted in this connection : "In a country where there is no surplus labour, industrialisation waits upon agricultural improvement. The way to industrialisation lies through the improvement of agriculture. The reverse is the case in a country where population is so large in relation to cultivable land that the land is carrying more people than can be fully employed in agriculture. Substantial technical progress in agriculture is not possible without reducing the numbers engaged in agriculture."⁹

"The skill bottleneck" in an underdeveloped economy,

⁸ Higgins' article entitled "Concepts and criteria of secular stagnation" in *Essays in honour of Professor Hansen*.

⁹ U. N. Report on Measures for the economic development in underdeveloped countries, p. 59.

"may be immediately more important as an obstacle than the capital bottleneck and there may be some short-run competition between the requirements of skill formation and of capital formation."¹⁰ The income-level in an underdeveloped economy also depends on the "smoothness with which its labour force can be adapted to the types of production which are in demand."¹¹

Skill-formation in an underdeveloped economy is a costly affair. Without substantial foreign help, skill-formation is impossible. The State can stimulate the process of skill-formation through the public enterprises. Under Mixed Economy, this responsibility may be shared by the State, the private employers and the foreign technical experts.

Due to lack of capital, economic development in an underdeveloped economy must take the shape of organising labour-intensive industries. Again, these industries must not heavily depend on skill-formation and on the large-scale import of technical assistance and equipments as far as possible. They must also be such that the time-lag between the final completion of the investment project and the take off stage, characterised by the start of the flow of consumer goods, is short.¹² The labour-intensive industries must be sufficiently decentralised and dispersed all over the underdeveloped country.

If capital-intensive industries are stimulated in an underdeveloped economy, there is the possibility of inflation; for, heavy capital-requirements would force the State to print more paper-currency which would increase the purchasing-power of the people in the community but corresponding to this increased purchasing-power, there has not been any proportional rise in the volume of goods and services produced. Says Nurkse—"The densely populated countries in process of development do not need tools and machines of the same degree of capital-intensity as those used in the advanced economies where labour is relatively scarce. Some of the equipment and hence also the tech-

¹⁰ Dr. B. Datta—*Economics of industrialization*, p. 288.

¹¹ Brown—*Industrialization and trade*, p. 7.

¹² Tsiang's article entitled "Rehabilitation of time dimension of investment in macro-dynamic analysis" in *Economica*, August, 1949.

niques of production imported from more developed countries are likely to be highly capital-intensive and therefore not well adapted to countries where capital is scarce and labour abundant.”¹³

To remodel agriculture, the biggest labour-intensive economic operation in India, the First Five Year Plan was pro-agricultural. The Planning Commission justified a pro-agricultural plan for India in the following language—“We are convinced that without a substantial increase in the production of food and of raw materials needed for industry, it would be impossible to sustain a higher tempo of industrial development. In an undeveloped country with low yields in agriculture, there is of course no real conflict between agricultural and industrial development. One cannot go far without the other ; the two are complementary. It is necessary, however, on economic as well as on other grounds, first of all to strengthen the economy at the base and to create conditions of sufficiency and even plenitude in respect of food and raw materials. These are the wherewithals for further development.”¹⁴

The I. M. F. Mission¹⁵ nicely summed up the reasons for laying emphasis on agricultural development in Indian plans as follows—“The emphasis on agriculture is justified by its basic importance in the economy of India. With perhaps 70% of the persons gainfully employed working in agriculture and about 50% of the national output represented by agricultural production, any significant economic progress must begin with agriculture. Obviously, any rise in the standard of consumption must be based on a larger supply of food-grains, and this must come primarily from more efficient agricultural production. . . . There is another reason why primary emphasis must be given to agricultural production. A balanced development programme must provide for increasing production in those fields in which there is demand. By far the greatest part of the increase in demand, arising from the higher incomes that will come with

¹³ Nurkse—*Problems of capital formation in underdeveloped economies*, p. 45.

¹⁴ *The First Five Year Plan* (Government of India publication).

¹⁵ Called Bernstein Mission after the name of Mr. Bernstein, its leader.

the development of the economy, will be for agricultural products."

One of the significant planning-trends in an underdeveloped economy is the co-existence of the backlog and the time-lag. For example, the Second Five Year Plan wanted to provide for more jobs. But its targets as regards the stimulation of the volume of employment were not reached. Consequently, the Third Five Year Plan had to begin with a backlog of unemployment greater by about 2 millions than at the beginning of the Second Plan. Sample surveys have indicated that educated unemployment is specially high in urban areas.¹⁶ Further, in an underdeveloped economy which is going to be developed through planning, there is an inevitable time-lag between the initial investment and the final actual production. So, at this initial stage, some amount of inflationary pressure must be felt. Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, the great Indian scientist, planner and adviser to the Government of India on the technique of planning, suggests that inflationary spirals during the plan-period in an underdeveloped economy can be stopped by stimulating the handicrafts.

The main purpose of planning is to create a 'growth-surplus', an economic surplus which is equal to the difference between the gross national product and aggregate essential consumption.¹⁷ As Vakil and Brahmananda point out, the main objective of economic planning in an underdeveloped economy is to stimulate those tendencies under the pressure of which the country travels towards the 'cumulative growth orbit', that is, towards the production of a 'growth-surplus' when employment and investment would grow at a greater rate than the rate at which population is increasing.¹⁸

Planning for an underdeveloped economy must be 'planning with unbalanced growth'. In planning with balanced growth, there is simultaneous and proportionate expansion of all the

¹⁶ *Second Five Year Plan* (Government of India publication).

¹⁷ Paul Baran's article entitled "National economic planning" in *A survey of contemporary economics*, edited by Haley, Vol. II.

¹⁸ Vakil and Brahmananda—*Planning for an expanding economy*.

segments of the economy. Consumption, investment and income are stimulated at the same rate. But under 'planning with unbalanced growth', emphasis is laid on the fact that during the plan-period, investment would increase at a greater rate than income and income would grow at a greater rate than consumption. This is because in an underdeveloped economy, some basic capital-goods-industries are to be established as auxiliary or feeder industries to help the consumer goods industries. India adopted this technique during the period under the Second Five Plan.

In a developed economy, planning is helped by the process of linear programming. The aim of linear programming is to attain the level of maximum economic productivity by a nation through planning at the minimum cost or the maximum level of productivity at a certain cost. By linearity assumption is meant fixation of a certain ratio between an industry's output (produced goods and services) and input (the resources used). The input-output matrix explains whether the production of any ultimate consumer good is possible or not. Such an analysis gives out a sort of a balance-equation which can explain if the total output of any particular industry is absorbed either by itself or by other industries or by the consumers. But the input-output analysis cannot always be successfully applied as the planning-methodology of an underdeveloped country, because very often the technical relationship between the inputs and outputs cannot be calculated in the industries, specially, in labour-intensive industries.

Planning in an underdeveloped economy must be organized by the State, because it alone can maintain the optimal growth-ratio, that is, the fastest rate of expansion which can be permanently sustained. It is a growth-ratio that balances the rate of growth of the labour-force and the rate of growth of the output.

Development of underdeveloped regions depends, not only on capital in the sense in which the economists understand it, but also on 'social capital', that is, on investments in the fields of healthy group-activities like games, irrigation and community-development. The State, as the great entrepreneur and the model

employer in an underdeveloped economy, often fails to pay adequate attention to these requirements of 'social capital'.

Many modern economists divide the sectors of an underdeveloped economy into the organised sector and the subsistence sector. The organised sector is a region where there is proportional growth of investment, income, savings and consumption. In an underdeveloped economy, this sector occupies a small part of the national economy. The biggest part of the national economy is here occupied by the subsistence sector where the people stay at the bare subsistence level. It is the duty of the State to develop the subsistence sectors industrially in such a manner that they are, ultimately, converted into organized sectors in a resilient, buoyant economy.

Industrialisation is inescapable. The old feudal-agrarian economy produces evils which are all due to this onesided social development. It has ceased to be a modern means of transport fit for taking the up-to-date man to the road to prosperity. A nation cannot pay demurrages any more when its resources are kept idle while its hungry members pick up the dustbins for bits of dirty unedibles from the stale leftovers.

PLANNING FOR A MIXED ECONOMY : THE EXPANDING PUBLIC SECTOR

Planning, under mixed economy, is a socio-political process.¹⁹ A mixed economy must promote social equity through reduction of inequalities in income, property and privileges. It must try to provide equal opportunity for everybody. There must be the fullest personal freedom in the sense that consumers should be allowed to decide what will be produced for the satisfaction of their wants. Freedom must also exist among the workers so that they are able to choose their jobs according to their aptitude and skill. While the achievement of Full Employment is the main economic objective of a mixed economy, the enforcement of this magnificent economic policy must be the task of the

¹⁹ Meade's article on Mixed Economic Planning entitled "Next step in the domestic economic policy" in the *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1949.

administrators. There should be the minimum amount of the 'stupid and stultifying' waste due to the existence of large-scale involuntary idleness among the workers when there are so many goods to be produced, so many wants to be satisfied. The division of the private and public sectors of the national economy needs all-round efficiency on the part of the administrators. A political decision has to be made by the planning authorities in a mixed economy regarding the most desirable end or ends. They must also try to achieve some ends without sacrificing the other end or ends.

Dean Paul Appleby rightly points out that a mixed economy must choose between welfare objectives and doctrinaire nationalisation. That is, all plans for State-control must be tested on the respective merits of each case, not according to the criterion of doctrinaire nationalisation.²⁰ In any case, the expanding public sector in a progressive Welfare State is the most prominent feature of a democratic system of mixed economy.

Two types of arguments for nationalization of industries are to be noticed²¹—the doctrinaire approach and the pragmatic approach. The doctrinaire approach is supported by those "who have talked and written in a general manner of what could be achieved by transferring industry to national ownership." The pragmatists are those "who have wanted to achieve a particular change in a particular industry, for instance, rationalization of electricity distribution, and have seen in national ownership a useful means of setting up an authority with the power to make the change."

Nationalisation eliminates wasteful competition, lowers costs, cuts down defensive, unproductive expenditures like those meant for advertisement, democratises management by placing the government in power to control the basic industries, reduces inequality of wealth by preventing the greedy privileged from monopolising wealth and power, gives the labourers ade-

²⁰ Appleby—*Re-examination of India's system with special reference to administration of Government's industrial and commercial enterprises* (Government of India publication).

²¹ Chester and Clegg—*The future of nationalization*.

quate wages and stimulates the interest of the people for public affairs.

"Over the last few years", argue Chester and Clegg, "nationalization has fallen into disrepute. The reason for this is not anything inherent in nationalization itself, but the type of organization which has been imposed on the industries nationalized since 1945."²² This is not simply the British trend in the sphere of public policy. In the pre-independence days, the Indians would jump with joy at the very offer of nationalisation of industries. But today, they would rather oppose the idea because of the callous and chaotic management of the public sector in many cases. The future of nationalisation of industries depends, to a large extent, on the way the nationalised undertaking is managed. As Robson points out, "While nationalisation opens up a wide vista of new opportunity, and enables us to overcome many of the drawbacks of profit-making enterprise, it does not by itself resolve the problem of producing and distributing basic goods and services in an efficient and economic manner so as to serve the public interest in the highest possible degree. It takes us into a new world of hope and promise, but that world has its own problems, which although different from those presented by private enterprise, are both pressing and difficult."²³

The most important problem of the management of the mixed economy is concerned with the choice of policy by the State, as the planner and the regulator of the economic sectors, private and public. Mr. Gorwala, the veteran Indian civil servant and famous writer on public administration, strongly criticises the vacillating attitude of the government as regards the enforcement of its policy of mixed economy. "The Government should know its sphere", he says, "and the rest of the people should know their sphere and thus they should be enabled to work harmoniously."²⁴ Lack of a proper management-policy would lead to the collapse of the system of mixed economy. The entire benefits from planning would disappear. The warning of Ashton,

²² *Ibid.*, p. 207.

²³ Robson—*Problems of nationalised industry*, Chapter 2.

²⁴ Gorwala—*Indian ideal*, p. 36.

the great writer on economic history, must be fully remembered by all planners. "If the (industrial) revolution was not able to bring its rewards in full measure to the ordinary man and woman it is to the defects of administrative, not of economic processes, that the failure must be ascribed."²⁵

Corruption and careless wastage of the resources damage the very idea of the expansion of the public sector. They are responsible for a continuous haemorrhage of the lifeblood of the nation. Unless these loopholes and leakages are properly plugged, the nation would die of anaemia. Gorwala characterises this moral crisis in administration as a 'spiritual poverty'.

The public sector must not be allowed to be the happy hunting grounds of quacks and charlatans who would experiment with the fantastic, fatal, amateurish game of trial and error on a large-scale.

The Gorwala Report²⁶ recommends the establishment of autonomous public bodies for managing the public enterprises. Only in exceptional cases, it suggests, the power of management should be vested with a private agency on a contractual basis or with the ordinary governmental department. Gorwala's oftquoted formula is—there should be "a combination of public ownership, public accountability and efficient management for public aims." He divides Management Boards into Boards of Direction, Policy Boards, Functional Boards.

The departmental type of organisation suffers from the defect of rigidity. A government department seldom comes in the wide, open public sphere. It tends to take a 'departmental' view of the administration. According to Gorwala, departmental management of public enterprises must be rare; its scope must be specifically defined, isolated and kept down to the absolute minimum.²⁷

The public corporation type of a public enterprise has the advantage of being flexible and efficient. It is free from full-

²⁵ Ashton—*Industrial Revolution, 1760-1830*, p. 139.

²⁶ Gorwala—*Report on the efficient conduct of the state enterprises in India*.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 15.

fledged parliamentary control. It is a separate statutory institution and immune from all usual prohibitory restrictions imposed upon the expenditure of public funds. The government controls it through its official representatives in the corporation-body. It is now a universally recognised principle that public enterprises should be managed by quasi-independent public corporations.

Companies jointly sponsored by the State and the private enterprisers, as a rule, are unworkable. Such mixed-ownership corporations suffer from the unhealthy combination of two unworkable principles in the same corporate body—the principles of private enterprise and the principle of state enterprise. Such corporations combine the weaknesses of both these opposite principles without blending their comparative merits. As far as possible, therefore, public enterprises should be managed according to the patterns of completely State-operated public corporations.²⁸

Public enterprises should function with autonomy. They should also function with the maximum of speed, with the minimum of cost. The government must delegate sufficient power to the Boards which are to manage the public enterprises. There must be a unilinear movement of power from the Boards to their Managers, from their Managers to the subordinates at different levels of management. In the sphere of management of the public enterprises, there should also be time-lag. In the construction-stage, that is, in the short period, it is specially necessary to see that the physical assets built up are commensurate with the original estimates and designs. To fulfil this purpose, there should be autonomous units which would organise test-checks of performances in selected fields. These units could be made parts of the original projects themselves so that they help the responsible authorities to secure efficiency, economy and integrity at every stage of the planning process. Every undertaking in the public sector should specially arrange for the organisation of suitable test-checks which serve as the indices of efficiency and productivity. Each undertaking in the public sector should be

²⁸ Herbert Morrison's article, "Public control of the socialised industries" in *Public Administration*, Vol. XVIII, Spring, 1950,

ready to improve its organisation and productive operations in the light of the test-checks so organised.

Executive departments in public corporations should be encouraged to function within their autonomous zones. There should not be any interference with the specific work which an individual in a government department is asked to perform. Only when he is found to be negligent, on positive and concrete proof, should action against him be taken. There must be inter-departmental conferences and consultations.

Robson offers a very nice illustration to clear up the meaning of the autonomy of a public enterprise vis-à-vis parliamentary review.²⁹ If a train were late on one occasion, or not frequently, under a branch of nationalised transport-system, this should be considered as a matter of management and, as such, outside the scope of parliamentary review. But if the same train ran late almost each day for a month, something must be wrong in the system of railway administration and this lies within the scope of parliamentary review.

The TVA experiment in the U. S. A. has been very highly successful in managing the public sector. As Lilienthal points out,³⁰ the three characteristics of the TVA idea of managing a public concern are—the establishment of a federal autonomous agency having authority to make decisions for the concern ; fixation of responsibility regarding routine matters of administration in the regional agency as a unified and co-ordinated whole, that is, not dividing it among centralised agents of the federal body ; acceptance of a policy, clarified by law, according to which the federal regional body must work in co-operation with local and State bodies of the locality.

The TVA message indicates that if public service has to be made efficient, there must be a congenial administrative climate. There must be some basic moral values like courage, honesty and dignity. Strong determination of the public servants and their sympathy for fellow citizens would enable them to overcome mistakes, disputes and disagreements. Responsibility must be

²⁹ Robson—*Problems of nationalized industry*, pp. 231-313.

³⁰ Lilienthal—*TVA : Democracy on the march*,

pushed to the smallest working units and adequate power is to be delegated to them so that administrative division of labour becomes fully satisfactory.³¹

Says Dean Paul Appleby—"For purposes of introduction it remains to emphasise the view that there is special validity, particularly in India and particularly just now, in the application of the conception of autonomy to the government's industrial and commercial undertakings. . . . India is in fact in a state of emergency quite comparable to the condition that would obtain if the nation was at a war. Its success in this emergency depends upon rapid decision — making rapid action. The present emergency is most acute on the front where new enterprises are in the building. As in war, the emergency dictates the establishment of procedures that have a maximum potential of acceleration consistent with the maintenance of democratic values."³²

While visiting India in 1956, Professor Galbraith, the noted American economist, suggested that there cannot be any autonomy of a public enterprise under parliamentary control. He advocated the grant of the fullest autonomy to the Boards which are established for managing the State enterprises. But the recommendations of Appleby and Galbraith are too extremist. In December, 1959, the U. N. Seminar on Public Industrial Enterprises, held at New Delhi, suggested autonomy for the day-to-day operations of the public enterprises. But to make the Parliament aware of the policies and the happenings of these enterprises, it suggested that Parliament may retain the ultimate power of control by way of review.

The Krishna Menon Committee, set up by the Congress Party to advise on the management of public enterprises in 1959, recently suggested that a Committee of Parliament, like the Parliamentary Estimates Committee or the Public Accounts Committee, should be set up for parliamentary review of the work of the public enterprises. The Committee, thus, upholds

³¹ Case—*Personnel policy in a public agency : The TVA experience.*

³² Dean Paul Appleby—*Reexamination of India's administrative system with special reference to administration of government's industrial and commercial enterprises* (Government of India publication), p. 6.

the public accountability of State enterprises. Public accountability means accountability to the highest public authority, that is, the Parliament, through the appropriate Minister.³³ A National Health Service, for example, needs a central authority to manage it on scientific lines. A Public Health Corporation, set up for this purpose, by the Health Ministry, must be under the over-all supervision of the Parliament.

The ECAFE Seminar closed with the following valuable finding—"It cannot be said that any form of organization is best for administration of public enterprises in all countries and in all circumstances . . . each country must seek a solution compatible with its own governmental structure and local needs."³⁴

The administrative crisis that often results in a mixed economy is due to the fact that the administrators fail to foresee the vast quantitative and qualitative changes which take place in the system of administration in commensurate with the vastness of the planframe. During the last three Five Year Plans of India, good results have been obtained by a sort of "sweated labour" of the administrators, that is, by working the key personnel for long hours, by paying special attention to a rather disproportionate number of them, by a "stubborn persistence of the programmatic officials in the face of frustration." But this has its limits. It implies that such administrative planning will have to depend on a small number of key officials.

The failure of the public sector in India during the period of the Five Year Plans can further be ascribed to lack of foresight, that is, failure to preview how the resources were to be allocated for the various plan-targets, and the lack of a sound policy as regards management of the fiscal, monetary and commercial institutions as a part of a comprehensive preparation for planning,

³³ Action Society Trust—*Training and promotion in nationalized industry*. Also, Acton Society Trust—*Hospital and State*.

³⁴ *Public Enterprise : A study of its organisation and management in various countries, based on documents prepared by the ECAFE Seminar* (on behalf of the U. N.) held at Rangoon in 1954, and edited, on behalf of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, Brussels, by Hanson,

and lack of a general incentive as regards the tasks of supervision, ownership and management of the public sector.

Recently, at the request of the Government of India, the World Bank sent a delegation, led by Mr. Michael Hoffman, to examine the developments of the country in the public sector through planning. The Hoffman Report, issued in October, 1960, described as quite unsatisfactory, the three-tier structure under which the public sector steel plants are managed by a single corporation, the Hindustan Steel, which has the Steel Ministry above it and the three plant managements below. It did not find sufficient strength in the argument put forward by the Government of India that this integrated management would eliminate wasteful scramble for scarce personnel and supplies and bring about an effective co-ordination of men and materials. The Hoffman Report also paid much attention to the solution of the problem of management training so far as the administration of the public sector is concerned. It declared that in the administration of major undertakings in the public sector, the "cream of experience was spread rather thin—a good deal too thin".

Following the suggestions contained in the Hoffman Report, the Government of India readily announced its decision⁸⁵ to open two central institutes of management training. Personnel, for the private as well as the public sector, would be adequately trained to manage the industries. These institutes would be guided by American experts in their initial stages. Senior, experienced personnel would have to attend a three months' refresher course while new, young, promising aspirants would be given a thorough training. It would have been better to set up a National Academy of Business Administration for offering foundational training.

On March 20, 1960, the Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry of the Government of India explained its policy regarding the restrictions to be imposed upon undertaking new industrial projects. Industrial projects to be set up in the future in India, would have to secure the approval from the government, as regards the terms of foreign collaboration, capacity, location

⁸⁵ *The Statesman*, dated October 13, 1960.

and the foreign exchange requirements concerning the import of plant and machines. Each case would be considered according to its merit. Normally, foreign technical collaboration should have a limited life, preferably, for ten years. The Licensing Committee of the Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry of the Government of India drew up a list of new industries for the establishment of which permits would be freely issued. Industries, which employ less than 100 persons and have a fixed asset of not less than Rs. 10 lakhs, need not obtain any licence.³⁶

The outline of the Third Five Year Plan mentioned that an important condition for the success of the Plan is that the standard of administration must be raised very high, yielding 'optimal' results in the sphere of the public enterprises. Costs of administration should be the minimum. Individual responsibility must be clearly specified within agreed time-schedules, approved policies and analysed programmes. Decision and execution—these are the two main spheres of responsibility the administrators will have to share while organizing the system of mixed economy.

At every stage, the progress of the system of mixed economy should be reviewed by non-official bodies as well as by official bodies. The need for requisitioning the help of non-official, local self-governing bodies like the *panchayats* and other non-official agencies like educational institutions, trade unions and institutes of academic or specialised research, is very great. Each such body is a part of the nation. This fact makes their fields of activity common to each other. It is this commonness of their fields which is sure to pave the path for a common social cohesion and a common social outlook which are so essential for national planning through a system of mixed economy.

Public administration in a Welfare State ultimately means the personalisation of authority. If the public administration is efficient and democratically operated, the authority becomes the best personalized in the sociological sense. Personalisation

³⁶ The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated March 21, 1960.

of authority becomes fully democratic if there is the fullest co-operation and understanding between all agencies for social welfare.

PLANNING FOR A DECENTRALISED ECONOMY:

SARVODAYA IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

A recently published monograph³⁷ declared that the immediate aims of the Indian Five Year Plans "are economic and social to raise living standard, to increase national income, production and employment, to provide a richer and fuller life, to break further through the barrier of poverty". But the main significance of the Indian Plans, it declared, "lies as much in its method as in its aim. . . . India endeavours to follow Gandhian methods of peaceful change, to win economic and social freedom, like political freedom, without hate, violence or injustice. . . . India hopes to avoid the class conflict, the social waste, the oppressive concentration of public or private power, which have often accompanied rapid industrialization and economic advance."

Reading this description of the politico-economic ideology behind Indian Plans by these distinguished foreigners, one recollects the brief, beautiful summarisation of this ideology by Prime Minister Nehru while laying down the Second Five Year Plan before the Indian Parliament. He said, while defining the meaning of the expression, 'socialistic pattern of society', "What do we mean when we say, 'socialistic pattern of society'? Surely we mean a society in which there is social cohesion without classes, equality of opportunity and the possibility for everyone to have a good life." "What is on trial in India's Second Plan and all its future plans is, in the last analysis, whether democracy can solve the problems of mass poverty. . . . In some nations there are those who say that the democratic process

³⁷ *The New India : Progress through democracy* (Planning Commission, Government of India). This Monograph was prepared by Dr. Ensminger and Miss Jean Joyce of the Ford Foundation, U. S. A. and revised by Professor Edward Mason, Dean of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University and Dr. Eugene Staley, Senior International Economist of the Stanford Research Institute, U. S. A.

cannot solve these problems, or cannot solve them fast enough. India believes that it can do both ; its Second Plan is testament to that belief. . . . In meeting this great challenge to democracy, India will owe much to the good faith of other nations, who share its belief in the democratic principles of human dignity and individual freedom.”³⁸

The Indian ideal of planning for a decentralised economy as pursued by the architects of the Indian Five Year Plans, is inspired by the Gandhian social philosophy, summed up in one word, ‘Sarvodaya’.³⁹

Truth and non-violence are the twin tenets of the concept of Sarvodaya. The concept assumes that man is always trying to achieve spiritual and moral excellence, that he is inherently good. Love and fraternity unite the people in the society. As it is a society based on equality, there is no possibility of any sort of exploitation of anybody by anybody else. Gandhiji identifies this ideal with the utilitarian ideal by saying that in this society, the individual must be ready to sacrifice his self in the larger interest of the greatest good of the greatest number.

In a society based on the concept of Sarvodaya, the improvement of the most backward class must receive the topmost priority. The rich must be prepared to give up their acquisitive tendency and proprietary instinct and remain as the trustees of the poor in the community. Everybody in the society must be inspired by the sentiment of ‘aparigraha’.⁴⁰

Sarvodaya rejects the double standards of conventional morality—a morality of the means and a morality of the ends, a morality of private life and a morality of the public life. Purity of the means is as important as the purity of the ends.

Sarvodaya recognises the dignity of labour. It honours manual labour. Each householder must not only earn his bread but do the sweeping and scavenger work of his household him-

³⁸ *The New India : Progress through democracy.*

³⁹ The word means “the upliftment of all people”. Gandhiji translated the famous book of Ruskin, “Upto this last”, into Gujarati with this work as the title.

⁴⁰ The word means “non-possession”.

self. The intellectual elite must be ready to spin in their leisure hours.

According to the Gandhian concept of 'satyagraha',⁴¹ the person who has been wronged would try to undo the wrong by a pacific appeal to the divinity in the wrongdoer. Sarvodaya, thus, firmly believes in the sacrosanct nature of the human self. Gandhiji thus tries to reconstruct the economy of the community by an ethico-religious bio-synthesis. Sarvodaya, like the anarchist philosophy of Tolstoy, proclaims the moral sovereignty of the human soul.

According to the Sarvodaya ideal, material progress must be subordinated to spiritual progress. Man the Great is greater than the Economic Man or the Political Man; the State, according to the Sarvodaya concept, is based on the theory of least interference. It would, more or less, accept the oft-quoted formula on State-interference enunciated by the great statesman, Thoreau, namely, that the government which governs the least, is the best. As the concept of Welfare State does not necessarily follow nor inspire the full moral regeneration of man, the leaders of the Sarvodaya believe that the Welfare State is rather slow-moving and, as such, unsuited to the fulfilment of the Sarvodaya ideal.

Says Gandhiji — "The real implication of equal distribution (of wealth) is that each man shall have the wherewithal to satisfy all his natural wants and no more."⁴² Accordingly, the society based on the Sarvodaya ideal, must be a reconstructed village economy in which agriculture and cottage industries would occupy the most important place. Gandhiji thinks that villagism does not really collide with industrialisation which alone cannot bring about the stage of Full Employment in a country. Unemployment can be removed only if people learn handicrafts. Large-scale mechanisation leads to de-humanisation, concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, bureaucratization and red tapism

⁴¹ The word implies "eagerness for realising truth (through non-violent, passive resistance)".

⁴² Gandhiji's article in the *Harijan Patrika*, dated the 25th August, 1940.

through oligarchical-pyramidal hierarchy. Overcrowded cities suffer from the evils of large-scale industrialisation—filth, squalor, poverty and prostitution.

Followers of the Gandhian Sarvodaya ideal like Vinoba Bhave, Dada Dharmadhikari and Jayaprakash Narayan have explained the ideal in many ways. Bhave has organised popular movements like Bhoodan,⁴³ Sampattidan,⁴⁴ and Sramadan.⁴⁵

The basic implication of these slogans is that those who are landholders, should voluntarily offer land-gifts, those who are wealthy, should voluntarily offer their wealth for public use and benefit, and those who have nothing else to offer, can easily offer service through the voluntary gifts of their labour.

Dada Dharmadhikari would go so far as to support some sort of a guild-socialism in which there would be functional representation and a co-partnership of political and economic units of the society. He becomes almost a Marxist when he defines the aim of Sarvodaya as being the evolution of an administration of things instead of a government over persons.

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, the renowned Indian socialist leader, points out that the ultimate goal of Sarvodaya is the establishment of the partyless *swaraj*.⁴⁶ He has not fully explained how this could at all take place. One important step towards this direction, however, may be suggested. The Sarvodaya workers must increasingly take part, in honorary and advisory capacities, in self-governing bodies like the panchayats which have been set up in almost all the States of India. Renunciation of all types of political activity in a modern democratic society on the ground that it is all party-politics, is not the healthy sign of an active social reformer or social worker. He must, rather, reject this sort of non-co-operation and escapism which Mr. Narayan would advocate. Reform can be carried on both from within and without. This is the only solution of the vexed problem of "a good citizen in a bad State". All politics is not party-politics.

⁴³ The word means "land-gift".

⁴⁴ The word means "gift of property".

⁴⁵ The word means "gift of labour".

⁴⁶ The word means "the inner rule of reason over a man's self".

He who thinks so and, on that ground, remains aloof so far as his participation in the public affairs is concerned, is supporting the policy of sitting in the arm-chair or staying in the ivory tower of his psyche.

The concentration of power in the hands of the rulers of many States would astonish even such pronounced champions of State-sovereignty like Hobbes, Hegel and Hitler. Mankind must be saved from the sovereignty of the few exercised over the disgruntled and pauperized many. Democratic decentralization of the economic and social system is, therefore, very important. Sarvodaya is one such social philosophy of democratic decentralization. It is a philosophy which demands too much of moral consciousness from the ordinary man of flesh and blood. While the development of this moral personality of the individual must, undoubtedly, be the object of all social planners, there is much truth in the pragmatic objection that this ideal is too hard to realize.

However, this ideal is something specially Indian, enshrined that it is in the Indian history, culture and civilisation of the past. The Western ideals of parliamentary democracy and federalism are rather alien in India. Every country must try to draw from its perennial fund of cultural values and there is no reason why India should not be inspired by the Sarvodaya spirit, specially, as the Sarvodaya ideal is associated with the glorious name of the Father of the Nation. India should, however, try to adapt herself to this ideal, as far as possible, within the framework of a Welfare State, parliamentary democracy and federalism. She should, also, strike out a balance between centralisation and decentralisation with the help of the Sarvodaya ideal and accordingly reform her parliamentary system of government, federal constitution and the planframe biassed towards a socialistic Welfare State.

Decentralisation, as it should exist in a socialist society, has been achieved, to a great extent, in Yugoslavia. The first step towards such decentralisation is the struggle against an unimaginative bureaucracy by widening the mass scale of the executive power in general and of the executive power in the

field of economic management in particular. Thus, decentralisation, as viewed by Yugoslav socialists, is not only economic decentralisation, but also, administrative.⁴⁷ To reach the goal of economic decentralisation, folk assemblies, workers' councils, communes and such other popular forms of self-government have been established. To achieve administrative decentralisation, the administrative apparatus of the State has been thoroughly streamlined and economised. In this way, the whole process of executive duties records a transformation of a centralised, unitary system of society into various popular organs of self-government of the workers. They directly control and manage production and implement decisions in all fields of social life, specially, the economic.

Mention of the goal of democratic decentralisation should be made in the Indian Constitution in the same way as it has been made in the Yugoslav Constitution of 1946. The Yugoslav experience shows that democratic decentralisation should be vertical as well as horizontal ; vertical, in the sense that there is transfer of competency from the federal administration to the people's committees, communes and co-operatives ; horizontal, in the sense that the popular economic institutions should be autonomous as regards their policies in the spheres of education, public health, social insurance and sanitation.

Economic decentralisation may be achieved by stimulation of the volume of employment. The volume of employment may be stimulated by expanding the small-scale enterprises with the help of slight mechanisation (through the help of electric power, for example), decentralisation of the economic power among the households or family-economies in rural areas, setting up the requisite auxiliary and ancillary industries for processing so that a fair part of the wealth is not diverted to distant channels leading to centralism of economic power. The educated unemployed should be encouraged to take a direct interest in manual labour. Manual labour should also be made less irksome through mechanisation as far as possible.

⁴⁷ Dordevic—*Local self-government in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia*.

In an underdeveloped or undeveloped economy, where the villagers are mostly illiterate, where they are yet to form some technical skill, they can be prevented from being hopelessly undersold by co-operative societies. Co-operation must, in its initial stages, be sponsored by the State. India has not yet crossed that stage. For bringing uniformity in economic help rendered by the State through co-operation, some amount of centralisation is essential. The country is large and has many complex problems. The efficient management of co-operatives is one of these problems.

The findings of a sociological survey, recently undertaken,⁴⁸ show that "identification with the basic philosophy of cooperation" is the most important factor which forges the staunchest bond between an individual member and a co-operative society.

In August, 1960, a plan outlining a more democratic and broad-based co-operative law was suggested to the Planning Commission and the Union Community Development and Co-operation Ministry by the Indian Co-operative Union.⁴⁹ The draft law envisaged drastic changes in the present Co-operative Act by taking away many of the powers enjoyed by official functionaries. The control of co-operatives is to be transferred to a complex network of federating units at block, district and State levels. During the transition period, however, the Registrars will continue to exercise their traditional functions. Among the interesting suggestions made in the draft law are the instituting of a co-operative audit service in each State, the setting up of a co-operative tribunal to hear appeals, including those against non-registration of societies.

On October 2, 1960, the Government of India announced its policy vis-à-vis co-operative farming. A Central Board would be set up to organize co-operative farming and help the establishment, on a voluntary basis, of 3200 such farms under a pilot

⁴⁸ *Survey on co-operation*, conducted by the Rural Anthropology Department of the Land Grant College, Wisconsin, U. S. A.

⁴⁹ *The Statesman*, dated 1st August, 1960.

project scheme.⁵⁰ State-governments would have to set up co-operative farms at State levels. But these farms are to be helped on a priority basis. It will be seen that co-operative farms and primary service co-operatives do not clash with each other. Co-operative farming is to be viewed as a stage in co-operative development, not as a plan divorced from the usual growth-pattern of the village economy as envisaged by the Community Development (the C. D.) schemes. It will be specially necessary to assure the landless, marginal and sub-marginal farmers of the requisite borrowing capacity so that co-operative farming succeeds. The State would subsidise the managerial expenses of a co-operative farm for 3 to 5 years to the ceiling of Rs. 1200. If it is unable to borrow from the Central Co-operative Banks or land mortgage banks, the government would lend it upto Rs. 4000. Its members would consist of real farmers or those engaged in the ancillary activities ; ordinarily, no absentee landlord would be admitted.

In Holland and Switzerland, the main problem of co-operative organization is to secure skilled managers.⁵¹ This is one of the reasons for which the Dutch and Swiss governments favour a unipurpose, instead of a multipurpose, co-operative society. In Ceylon and Cyprus, multi-purpose co-operative societies have been successful.⁵² Yet the F. A. O. reports that better alternatives would have to be found out, in due time, so that the managerial problem of the co-operative societies may be solved.⁵³

Recent reports of the Government of India⁵⁴ reveal that multipurpose co-operatives have been successful, more or less. Industrial co-operatives have increased in number but have

⁵⁰ Report of the Nijalingappa Committee. Also, the *Statesman*, October 3, 1960.

⁵¹ *Co-operative thrift, credit and marketing in economically underdeveloped countries* (F. A. O. Publication, Rome, July, 1953).

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 51.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 54.

⁵⁴ For example, *Twelfth Evaluation Report on Community Development and some allied fields*, Issued by the Programme Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission, Government of India, in July 1965.

recorded a decrease in the membership per society, working capital, deposits and loans. It is only the marketing co-operatives that have shown a general improvement, quantitatively as also qualitatively.

The membership of most of the Indian co-operative societies reflects broadly the caste and occupational composition of the villages they serve. Though castes can easily become the basis of factions in a backward country like India, factions can have other bases too, and it is factions, whatever their basis, rather than social groupings, which really hamper progress. If some of the Indian co-operative societies have succeeded in spite of factions, it is due mainly to the factor of leadership. These 'successful' societies owe their success in part to the relative prosperity of the villages and the areas they serve. The economic development of these villages has been accompanied by an extension of the exchange economy and an increasing demand for cash and credit ; the scope for productive use of loans has increased ; borrowers are also capable to repay the loans in time.

The ultimate test of the success of a co-operative society, particularly, as a commercial enterprise, is to be found in the growth of its business and the soundness of its finances. The 'successful' Indian co-operative societies have all increased the volume of their assets, resources, loans and deposits. There is some difference in the range of functions undertaken by the different societies. Of course, all of them are engaged in distributing loans which is their primary function. But many of them have taken up other functions like distribution of consumer goods and agricultural goods and various miscellaneous activities like simple processing operations. However, the societies do not seem to have successfully organised their non-credit activities. This lends support to the fear expressed by the Working Group on Co-operative Policy in India in 1958-59 that "activities which may involve trading risks, as in the distribution of consumer goods or in the processing of agricultural produce will need separate organisations appropriate to the scale of operations to be undertaken, requirements of capital etc." In their credit business, again, most of the Indian co-operative societies have

confined themselves to advancing short-term loans. Efficient management is finally responsible for the success of many societies. This managerial efficiency is mainly due to the service of a trained or experienced secretary and secondly, the conduct of the members of the managing committee in timely repaying loans borrowed by them.⁵⁵

The greatest asset of the nation is its man-power. If the social, political and economic institutions of a country fail to organise the manpower for socially desirable ends, then they are certainly to be considered as failures. The C. D. Projects (the Community Development Projects) of India have been able to bring the people and the government closer and build up a band of social servants who have identified them thoroughly with the masses.

The C. D. Projects have been much criticised. Genuine criticism is always welcome. But when it is made regardless of principles and facts, it tends to demoralise good workers in the field. Specially, the vested interests have seen in these programmes the burial of their outworn privileges and have opposed these programmes tooth and nail. Thus, absentee landlords who earn their living by illegally defrauding the tenants, blackmarketeers and hoarders in trade and industry and their compeers in politics who live and thrive by cheating others, are strongly opposed to the C. D. Movement.⁵⁶

It is true, as the Government also admits,⁵⁷ that in many of the C. D. blocks, the masses are not very enthusiastic. They are not self-reliant. They do not consider the C. D. blocks as their own and seem to have a feeling that the Government alone should undertake all tasks of local development. But these are short-term or organizational defects which can be remedied.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Speech of Mr. S. K. Dey, Union Minister of Community Development, Government of India, at Bhopal on September 24, 1960, *vide* the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated September 26, 1960.

⁵⁷ *Seventh Evaluation Report on Community Development and some allied fields*, Issued by the Programme Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission, Government of India, in July, 1960.

They do not prove that the basic social philosophy and approach of the C. D. Projects are wrong.

The Central Committee of Community Development of the Government of India decided, in September, 1960, that the C. D. Movement would be so formulated that it serves specified goals and 'omnibus programmes' would no more be undertaken. New development blocks would be set up only where provisions have been made for the necessary trained staff, where some minimum conditions of self-dependence and self-help through mobilization of capital, improved sanitation and co-operatives are fulfilled and where specific plans for augmenting agricultural output have been made.⁵⁸

The main function of the leaders of the C. D. Projects should be, like that of the officers of the Indian co-operative societies, to foster the spirit of self-help in the local community. Leadership must emerge from the local enthusiasts. The function of the government is to spoon-feed the spirit of self-help among the people in the early stages of the plan-period. In the long period, when this spirit of self-help sufficiently guides the local people, the administration will be associated with the best talents of the local community. Governmental help would then be unnecessary. This is the social implication of administrative decentralisation in any scheme of a decentralised economy.

In the early stages, it is the responsibility of the government officers to see that the local people get the essential supplies and services regularly. It is also their responsibility to prevent the losses due to wastage or mis-application of funds. Misgovernment must be prevented in the local areas so that finally, they may taste what is Government. It is in this sense that the Government of India might declare that the C. D. Projects as well as the co-operative movement are experimental in their initial stages. In the short period, they are government-sponsored movements. In the long period, they are to be full-fledged popular movements, movements 'of the people, for the people, by the people'.

India is facing the task of peacefully reconstructing her

⁵⁸ The *Statesman*, dated the 25th September, 1960.

socio-politico-economic institutions through a silent revolution. The villagers are already inspired by the urge for progress. It is the duty of the Indian panchayats to canalise this spirit into action, to effect a change for a look of green and gold, bettering the yield when the producers' shares are duly insured.

A distinguished, retired civil servant of Ceylon⁵⁹ remarked that in Ceylon, the introduction of the "village headman" system for provincial administration was a wise step. But every Indian student of democratically decentralized planned economy thinks that the hereditary principle of selecting the village headman must be replaced by the elective system. Election would stimulate the interest of the local masses in public affairs and democratise regional leadership; their political consciousness would be greatly stimulated. The panchayats should be granted greater autonomy. Here the policy of the government should be to guide them at first and freeing them at last, in gradual stages. The formula of "nurse the baby, protect the child and free the adult" should guide the government in administering the panchayats.⁶⁰ Sufficient financial assistance should be granted to the panchayats so that this goal is reached at last.

The latest government report⁶¹ on the panchayats points out that in some cases, panchayats are not functioning successfully, because of some limitations imposed upon their powers and authority.⁶² These limitations should be removed as far as possible. Uniformity in the statutes passed by the Indian States regarding the panchayats is a basic requirement.

The panchayats are also handicapped by the sociological

⁵⁹ Sir Charles Collins—*Public administration in Ceylon*, p. 151.

⁶⁰ In the early stage of planning, especially in backward areas, too much reliance cannot be placed on community-response. This is why the target of compulsory primary education for Indian children of 6 to 11 years of age, has been scaled down to 80% of the previous plan-target in the final Third Five Year Plan of India.

⁶¹ *Twelfth Evaluation Report on Community Development and some allied fields*, Planning Commission, Government of India, 1965.

⁶² For example—some of the limitations imposed on their financial powers.

framework conditioned by rural leadership.⁶³ Education must be imparted to the masses. This would lead to their intellectual, spiritual and moral development and prepare them for their economic or material development.

In many places, panchayat elections have been uncontested partly as an outcome of pre-election confabulations with the leaders of villages or castes. Strengthening the elective element through political education and periodical election at short intervals can remove such mass-apathy. In spite of castes and factions, a good deal of common life and community sentiment still exist in Indian villages. This is, indeed, quite a refreshing trend in Indian rural democracy, because the real weakness of Indian rural society and of the panchayats, lies not so much in factions or groups as in the general lack of interest of the people in matters of common welfare. The whole responsibility for rural management must gradually lie squarely with the people. Responsibility, efficiency and competence will then evolve along with the evolution of local leadership. Villages of India would not then be the historians of melancholy states of affairs they once were. Gandhiji once suggested⁶⁴ that there should be a three-tier scheme of democratic decentralization — first, there must be a genuine transfer of power to the people ; secondly, the levels must be specified at which such transfer of power should take place ; thirdly, the new popular institutions must not be spoon-fed by public officers all along.

Administrative planning must start with the well-known formula, 'design, collect, assign, erect'. In India, the administrative planner becomes rather too much of an administrator ; in the sphere of administrative planning, he figures only for his 'masterly inactivity'. He must take the people into confidence. This is the substance of democratic decentralization.

Planless administrative decentralisation would lead to an unhealthy social condition in which Parkinson's Laws would tend

⁶³ *Twelfth Evaluation Report on Community Development and some allied fields*, Planning Commission, Government of India, 1965.

⁶⁴ In an article in the *Harijan Patrika*, dated the 25th August, 1940,

to prevail.⁶⁵ Administrative hands would tend to increase on the plea that work has multiplied. Expenditure would also follow suit.

Poul Meyr points out the vast difference between administrative decentralisation (or delegation of powers) and democratic decentralisation.⁶⁶ Democratic decentralisation does not mean self-administration (or *Selbstverwaltung*) but self-government (*Selbstreich*). Democratic decentralisation implies that local self-governing bodies must be elected by local voters themselves who are, thus, made competent to decide vital matters of policy. Democratic decentralisation implies "a shift of the primary competence from the centre, that is, the apex of the administrative pyramid". It "renders the local and regional bodies independent of the central power or at any rate each increases its powers to make its own decisions". In short, democratic decentralisation is a plea for arming the local bodies with greater powers. This is also the basic social philosophy of Sarvodaya. The Government of India has recently accepted this ideal as indicating the goal of the decentralized, planned economy of India because of its potential value as an instrument for promoting administrative efficiency and strengthening the elective element in the organs of government.

Modern writers on public administration point out that a sound theoretic of management must recognise the great need for balancing centralisation with decentralisation. "Administrative policy should generally be centralised and operating policy decentralised. This means that leaders at the various levels

⁶⁵ The famous laws enunciated by C. Northcote Parkinson, the famous English writer on civil, military, economic history, in his books, *Parkinson's Law* and *The law and the profits*. His "first law" wittily states that subordinates multiply in every administrative set-up (because of the psychology of an officer who wants a subordinate, not an equal) without reference to work, if any, expected of them. Parkinson's "second law" states that the volume of public expenditure increases to meet a volume of public revenue which is supposed to be endless, a limit which is not there.

⁶⁶ Poul Meyr—*Administrative organization*, pp. 57-60,

must delegate to subordinates the power to make operating decisions."⁶⁷

"The management process is at the same time centralised and decentralised. Decentralised in the delegation of decision-making powers, centralised in the exercise of control over policies and activities to assure that results will be satisfactory. The solution of this problem, in any given situation, involves the evaluation of two opposite forces active in the organization, viz., the gains in organizational productivity and moral against the costs of the means of control. The net result of these opposite forces in the actual organisation, as it grows and develops, is an equilibrium that assures uniformity, speed and high quality of decisions all down the line."⁶⁸

Centralisation, in the strict sense of the reservation of management decision, is a weakness. It hampers effective action, breeds discontentment, wastes valuable time, results in the loss of opportunities, limits the use of the potential management skill available in the different categories of officials and thus restricts the development of executive manpower.

Decentralisation is free from these disadvantages. But the main problem is to specify its operation, define what responsibilities are to be delegated and the limits on the delegation of power and responsibility. "With decentralisation, the responsibilities of higher levels are altered, they are not extinguished". The extent of decentralisation, at any given time, in a particular country, is to be determined by the availability of the properly trained personnel. Besides, it is influenced by psychological and social aspects of the human factor involved in planning. Thus, excessive decentralisation develops a rank-and-file attitude among the officials managing the public enterprises. It also produces unhealthy tensions among them. Class-consciousness destroys

⁶⁷ Pfiffner and Presthus—*Public administration*, p. 214.

⁶⁸ Kruisinga (Ed) *The balance between centralisation and decentralisation in managerial control* (Condensed proceedings of an international study-conference organized by the Netherlands School of Economics, Rotterdam, Holland). The present researcher has studied the original Dutch version of this report edited by Kruisinga.

the necessary give-and-take attitude of the managerial staff of a decentralised public economy.

PLANNING FOR AN ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY:
THE SOCIAL IMPLICATION OF RIGHT TO WORK

While clarifying his views on economic democracy, Laski points out that Mill, among others, tells us long before, "that an unequal society contains within itself the seeds of its own dissolution. . . . That was why Mill could insist that the best society was one in which, while no one was poor, none felt the urgency to be rich nor was haunted by the fear of what effect that urgency in others might have upon him."⁶⁹ Laski thinks that the crisis in democracy today is mainly economic. Legislatures in representative democracies now no longer represent; they misrepresent; for, they are dominated by vested interests. To come out of this impasse, he supports the establishment of socialist democracy.⁷⁰ Otherwise, he is afraid, the starving, frustrated millions might meekly submit to a ruthless dictatorship.⁷¹ Laski's concept of socialist democracy is largely influenced by the concept of 'industrial democracy' of Mr. and Mrs. Webb. By an 'industrial democracy', the Webbs mean a community of self-dependent, self-relying, self-governing industrial workers, some sort of a democracy of the trade unions and the consumers' and producers' co-operatives. Delisle Burns admits that such a democracy has very good prospects in future.⁷² Hearnshaw also welcomes such an "industrial democracy" which leads to "the Recovery of efficiency and of Joy in work."⁷³ H. G. Wells is another notable supporter of Socialist Democracy as envisaged by Laski and the Webbs. "Socialism", he says, "is the attempt to democratize economic life as political life has already been democratized".⁷⁴ Bertrand

⁶⁹ Laski—*Democracy in crisis*, pp. 264-266.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-54, 77-79, 91-92, 147, 169, 185-186.

⁷¹ Laski lays emphasis on the economic causes of the rise of dictatorships in his book *Reflections on the revolutions of our time*, p. 142.

⁷² Delisle Burns—*Democracy*, p. 220.

⁷³ Hearnshaw—*Democracy at the crossways*, pp. 420-426.

⁷⁴ H. G. Wells—*Democracy under revision*, p. 27.

Russell also advises democratized management in the industries. The people, he says, must not feel that government is some composite 'they'—a remote body going its lordly way,—but 'theirs'.⁷⁵

This laying of emphasis on economic democracy has not, however, escaped criticism. MacIver says that the economic programmes which these democrats stand for, are to be implemented by the State and thus create a political problem. Hence he thinks that the problem of democracy is still political.⁷⁶ Joad points out that political democracy as such is not at all hostile to economic change.⁷⁷ The truth seems to be that democracy is so comprehensive that only a synthesis can ensure its survival. In such a synthesis, political democracy and economic democracy must not be viewed as separate counterparts but as parts of the same politico-economic system.

The most important right the individual gets from an economic democracy, that is, a democratic public authority conscious of its politico-economic obligations as regards the development of the ideal human personality through planning, is the right to work. In fact, one of the tests of a Welfare State is—how far the State is able to augment the volume of public employment. If it can augment the volume of public employment, it is regarded as a real Welfare State. If it does so by the democratic method of discussion and persuasion, it is a real economic democracy.⁷⁸

The impact of technocracy on the economic life of an individual to-day is very far-reaching. In every economy, the technocratic process implies the gradual replacement of manual labour by mechanical power. In a developed economy, the technocratic process operates through the gradual substitution of less productive capital equipments by more productive mechanical processes. But in an underdeveloped economy, the impact of technocracy is very far-reaching inasmuch as this process,

⁷⁵ Bertrand Russell—*Authority and the individual*, pp. 82-83.

⁷⁶ MacIver—*The web of government*, p. 207.

⁷⁷ Joad—*Guide to the philosophy of morals and politics*, pp. 782-790.

⁷⁸ Abramovitz and Eliasberg—*The growth of public employment in Great Britain*.

characterised by students of economics and business management as "rationalization", introduces certain complex socio-economic changes.

F. W. Taylor, the great champion of rationalization, thinks that rationalisation can be achieved through reform in work-distribution according to which every worker is asked to perform a piece of work that does not lead to any loss of manhour ; the best worker is to be selected for the job ; management and labour must co-operate. Sales promotion, mechanisation and integration of firms are also some usual processes for bringing about rationalisation in the industrial system.⁷⁹

Rationalisation has its advantages. It standardises production, increases output, lowers price, improves the quality of products, leads to higher wages and thus directly improves employer-employee relations, brings stability in the industrial system, maximises the national income in general.

For an underdeveloped economy, rationalisation creates some special problems. The huge unskilled man-power will have to starve for want of employment. As the U.N. Report remarks, "Labour-saving technology is not of great value to an economy which is overpopulated".⁸⁰

Hence what is needed is to introduce simple and very essential tools for rationalising the industries, absorb the unskilled workers in the productive processes by slow degrees, encourage the unskilled labourers to form skill through technical education, developing small, basic, key, heavy, constructional and cottage industries in desired proportions and in selected spheres of the economy.⁸¹

In a rural economy where pressure on land is very heavy and increasing day by day due to the growth of population, one would suspect that the proportion of villagers offering for employment on hire would rise in course of time unless some

⁷⁹ F. W. Taylor—*Scientific management*.

⁸⁰ *Report on the Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East*, conducted by the U. N. Department of Economic Affairs, 1953, Chapters IV and V.

⁸¹ *Vide* Professor C. N. Vakil's article in *International Social Science Bulletin*, July, 1954.

suitable solution of the problem of rural unemployment or under-employment is found out. Villagers offering for work on hire have generally no cultivable land of their own. The rise in their percentage in the course of the last few years is possibly due to the impact of the recent land-reforms on their economic position.⁸²

According to the data available,⁸³ unemployment prevails among artisans as also among the farmers in Indian rural areas. So the rural employment situation in India cannot be eased by a simple transfer of persons from farms to crafts. In fact, during the past several years, the movement has been in the opposite direction in many areas. Further, as the artisans constitute only 2% of the total Indian population, rural arts and crafts would have to be sufficiently expanded to absorb even a fraction of the unemployed among the agricultural labourers. However, the cultivator-cum-labourer is better employed than the pure labourer in both the busy and slack seasons. The partial reliance of some farmers on crafts and the rigidity of the rural labour-market hamper the improvement of their position. Perhaps the situation would have been much worse and more alarming if there had not been the secondary occupations like the rural arts and crafts.

An underdeveloped economy must, sooner or later, provide for adequate technical education, apprenticeship in mechanized productive units and training, pre-service and post-service, of its unskilled labourers. In response to the recommendation of the Sergeant Commission on Education, the Education Department of the Government of India and the Education Departments of the States opened Technical Education Wings in 1946. The First and the Second Five Year Plans spent, respectively, Rs. 23 crores and Rs. 60 crores for the improvement of technical education in India. The Third Five Year Plan proposed to spend

⁸² *Seventh Evaluation Report on Community Development and some allied fields*, Issued by the Programme Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission, Government of India, in July, 1960.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

Rs. 130 crores for this purpose. This amount formed nearly 2% of the total outlay of the Plan. It is a healthy sign that the government is spending more and more for the progress of technical education in India. Skill-formation being the major problem the planners in an underdeveloped or undeveloped economy should solve, this development in the expenditure-programme of the Indian Five Year Plans must be welcomed. Institutes for workers' education have been established in many parts of India. Numerous polytechnics have been set up, more will also be set up. The Institute of Workers' Education, Calcutta, trains up the workers through a diversified system of education and make them acquainted with the different managerial aspects of industrialisation in particular and the technical aspects of industrialisation in general. If rightly organised, such institutes of workers' education might, in the long run, make the trade unions and other types of workers' organisations more representative and cut them off from unhealthy influence of the opportunist outsiders, political gangsters and their other un-Indian counterparts.

Modern democratic States consider it as their duty to offer vocational education to workers. Psycho-technical tests are held so that proper personnel go to proper sections of the jobs. Vocational training is offered to all Belgian adults. In Britain, this is imparted by the National Institute of Industrial Psychology. British experts are now studying whether it would be possible for establishing a liaison between education and management through a socio-psycho-technical course of business management. To the British social scientists, the social implication of the right to work resolves itself into the problem of the State to plan manpower in such a way that it is directed to socially desired channels.⁸⁴

A recent I. L. O. Report points out ⁸⁵ that "as a whole, workers' education has to take into account the educational needs of the worker as an individual—for his personal education;

⁸⁴ *Vocational Monograph*, No. 2, 1949, I. L. O., Geneva; *Education for management*, Productivity Report, November, 1951, published by the Anglo-American Council on Productivity.

⁸⁵ *Vocational Monograph*, No. 3, 1959, I. L. O., Geneva.

as an operative — for his efficiency and advancement ; as a citizen —for a happy and integrated life in the community : as a member of a trade union—for the protection of his interests as a member of the working class.”

The most important achievement of the Indian Government in the field of labour-relations during the plan-period is the acceptance of the Code of Discipline by the organisations of the employers and employees. Under this Code, the Management is put under certain specific obligations while the labourers are also required to promote constructive co-operation at all stages of the industrial process. Stoppages of work and litigation are to be avoided. Negotiation, conciliation and voluntary arbitration would be the instruments for establishing industrial peace. Careless operation or negligence of duty on the part of the labourer would be discouraged. So also, coercion, violence and intimidation on the part of the employer, in any form, would be eliminated.

However, there are economists who complain that the scheme for voluntary arbitration, supported by the Government of India in its latest labour-laws,⁸⁶ cannot work out successfully. Perhaps the labour-policy of the Government of India has been guided by the American experience in this line. But, in the U. S. A., voluntary arbitration has been successful because it has to perform a limited task—to decide disputes concerning the interpretation and application of the provisions of the collective bargaining agreements. These are disputes which concern the rights the parties themselves have set up. In deciding them, the arbitrator must be guided by the collective bargaining agreement. He cannot, in any way, add to or modify any of the provisions of the agreement. No conflict which arises over fresh provisions of the agreement, is ever referred to the arbitrator.

There is another reason why voluntary arbitration works well in the U. S. A. There is only one bargaining unit each, of the employers and the employees, in the whole industrial organisation. Both are equally responsible for the management

⁸⁶ Industrial Disputes Amendment Act, 1956.

of the collective bargaining agreement. They enjoy quite an amount of security in their dealings with each other. If there is a dispute, each can ask its constituents, that is, the members, to have patience and see the final outcome. Even in its own interest, it can force them to abide by an unpopular decision of the arbitrator.

Trade unions, today, face as many problems of management as do the modern large-scale businesses. The eternal controversy between the elected *versus* appointed officials, the presence of many apathetic members, the threat of unofficial strikes, the expanding gap between the leaders and the riff-raffs—these are some of the typical problems which modern trade unions have to face. However, the net gains of the labourer and the society from the trade unions are enormous in the sense that while half a century back, the workers considered strikes as their only defensive weapon, they now co-operate, through their trade unions, with a network of committees set up by the government and are, thus, directly concerned with higher productivity and better industrial conditions.⁸⁷

Industrial reconstruction in virgin countries produces not only an economic revolution, but also a social upheaval. This involves the problem of proper placement of the worker. When there is a big population of the unemployed, placement of the worker must be properly and carefully planned. The ergonomist, the physiologist, the psychiatrist and, above all, the social scientist—all must co-operate for deciding the proper placement of the worker, for finding out how and where he should best be occupied. If he is not properly placed, he will be extremely unhappy, a liability rather than an asset. The nation will not gain anything from him. He will try to shift elsewhere. A loss of labour-power in terms of man-days lost is tremendous and cannot be made good ; for, labour is the most perishable form of the resources which are needed in economic planning. Instead of allowing the labourer to shift blindly to any other job, the State should

⁸⁷ Harry Welton—*The Trade Unions, the Employers and the State*.

try to deploy him at the next suitable position. Employment must, in this way, be supplemented by re-deployment.

When he is transplanted from the rural economy to the industrial, the worker feels that he loses his security and status. His possessive sense is hurt. The rural folk thus feel that they are uprooted from their natural habitat and time-honoured ties binding them with their village, their family, their farm and their cattle. Under the impact of a new and 'hostile' environment dominated by large-scale industries, they tend to lose their individuality. The new social ties become impersonal when the worker feels the absence of a personal stake. He is very much removed from the ultimate product. This feeling of remoteness did not exist before when those engaged in the rural handicrafts felt, on the contrary, some genuine pride and personal attachment to the product they directly produced.

Recent labour-sociologists have found out that a normal man is born to work, not simply for satisfying his material wants in a competitive or co-operative society, as the case may be, but also for his biological and metabolic urges. A person who works for his hobby, satisfies his intellectual or spiritual interest in some recreation. The most important gift of the industrial civilisation is the mechanisation of the dull and dirty work. This makes work irksome. Work may be made interesting and joyful under suitable planned devices and certainly, this is the function of the Welfare State as the architect of a planned economic democracy.

CHAPTER V

THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OF PLANNING

CIVIL SERVICE IN A PLANNED ECONOMY: THE PYRAMIDAL-HIERARCHICAL MODEL

Graham Wallas, the famous British social psychologist, characterized the Civil Service as the most important phenomenal, social growth of the present century. As the Industrial Revolution has proceeded with large-scale industries, the Political Revolution has led to the overthrow of archaic, feudal counsellors of the ruler and their replacement by progressive young men of the best intellect and outlook through open competitive examinations. It seems to be a great realization that merely having a band of progressive, liberty-loving youths to guard the citadel of Democracy is not enough. This has to be guarded by sentinels carefully trained in the art of organized social service.

The Indian Civil Service is, undoubtedly, the most important gift of England to India. Once called by Lloyd George the 'steel-frame' of the constitutional, rather, the whole political structure of India,¹ Civil Service in India has been put to a great sociological test—to prove its mettle for improving the lot of the poor, hungry illiterates after the dawn of Indian independence. Almost immediately after this radical change-over, it has to remodel itself to suit the plan-frame instead of the steel-frame,

¹ *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, dated the 2nd August, 1922.

having been called upon to build up a dependable reserve of officers who must be leaders full of initiative, dash and drive, imagination and creative dynamism, the keen managerial sense or feel, which the brand new socio-economic context of India has come to demand of them.

Almost a similar situation the East India Company faced. It brought in its trail a group of romantic desperadoes, desperate, adventuresome, eager to repair their fortunes broken up somewhere. They had to be given a pretty amount of quasi-military powers to meet an emergency, some quasi-judicial training to decide petty disputes plus some semi-religious authority to serve as Sunday Chaplains should the need so arose. From traders to administrators—such was the evolution of the administrative cadre of the East India Company.

Power was centralized, in this alien regime, in the Board of Directors who, as 'Government by a Council', constituted, so to say, the nucleus of public administration of British India.²

Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, appointed a Secretary in 1797. Clive appointed a Chief Secretary in 1800. In course of time, Administrative Boards were set up at Madras and Calcutta which included Board of Trade, Board of Revenue, Military Board, Medical Board and Marine Board.³

Since the times of Warren Hastings, Indian civil servants were gradually changing from mercantile leaders into real rulers. On this foundation, Cornwallis built up the future administrative superstructure in a more perfected form. At that time, the District Officer enjoyed almost autocratic powers. Telegraphic or railway communications were not yet fully developed. Administrative complexities due to specialization were nearly absent and local self-government sentiments were simply unheard of.⁴

Indians came to be nominated as "statutory civil servants" in 1879. Following the recommendations of the Aitchison

² Ruthnaswami, M.—*Some influences that made the British Administrative system in India*, pp. 58-68.

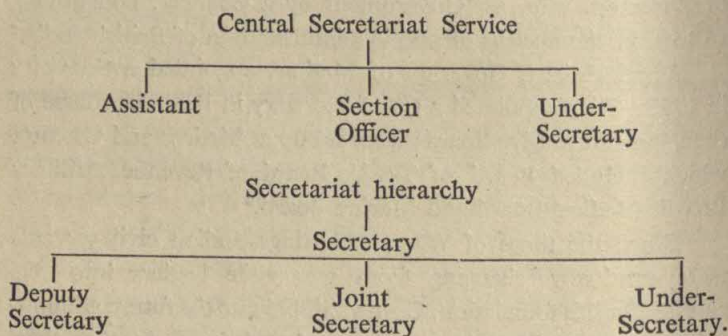
³ *Ibid*, pp. 550-558.

⁴ Chesney—*Indian Polity*, Ch. IX.

Commission in 1886, a local cadre called "Provincial Civil Service" was instituted. The Covenanted Civil Service now came to be called 'Imperial Civil Service' while the uncovenanted cadre came to be known as the 'Provincial Civil Service'.

Indianization of the public services began to take effect slowly, but steadily. The first World War brought the Islington Commission which recommended that 25% of the higher posts were to be filled with Indians by direct recruitment and promotion from lower officers. A competitive examination scheme for the Indians was also accepted. In 1924, the Report of the Lee Commission suggested that by 1939, half of the higher civil service appointments should be Indianised.

Till the birth of the Indian Republic, the Indian Civil Service was constituted as follows :



To advise the Government of the Indian Republic to overhaul the administrative machinery thoroughly, the Committee for Reorganization of the Machinery of Government of India was appointed in 1949 under the chairmanship of Sri N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar. In his report, he said, "The need for forward planning on a long term basis is imperative; because the officer who is to be, say, a Deputy Secretary to the Government of India 8 or 10 years hence, should be carefully chosen and appointed to the junior-most among administrative grades to-day, and put through a course of training and experience in other posts specially design-

ed to fit him eventually for more responsible posts. The same applies to other categories of posts also. The rationalisation of the process of recruitment, training, postings, transfers and promotions and uniformity of conditions of service brought about by such schemes which is necessary for effectuation of carefully devised plans of the Planning Commission will become increasingly difficult, not only in order to assure the availability to Government of public servants, in requisite numbers at all levels of the public service, but also in order to provide those who enter the permanent public service with a career offering the necessary security of tenure, pay and prospects. Only thus can public services be organized on an economical and efficient basis.”⁵

Sri Ayyangar advised the ruthless pruning of the administrative garden by abolishing unnecessary higher posts. Civil Service in free India, he said, is to be fashioned after an integrated plan that calls for a more creative and rationalized system.

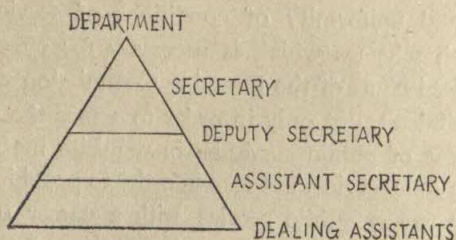
Dean Paul Appleby, a noted American expert on Public Administration, was also invited by the Government of the Indian Republic to suggest reforms in the administrative structure of India. Appleby prefaces his Report with some valuable reflections on the structure of an ideal administration. “Structure determines where responsibility lies, how and to what extent responsible and controllable delegation takes place, what emphasis shall be given to various objectives. It poses or conceals issues of policy. It provides or relatively fails to provide a structure of progressive responsibilities for decision-making and thus at each level screens out some decisions and relieves those in higher positions so that they may give attention to decisions really important to their functions.”⁶

Though an American expert, Appleby has recommended the pyramidal-hierarchical model of the British type for India.

⁵ Report of the Gopalaswami Ayyengar Committee, p. 26.

⁶ Dean Paul Appleby—*Report of a survey : Public Administration in India* (1953), Section II,

PYRAMIDAL-HIERARCHICAL MODEL :
BRITISH TYPE



The British system, it must be remembered, does not recognize Under-Secretaries and Additional Joint Secretaries. The Tottenham Report says, "The proper way to organize, if we were to ensure that the higher officers had time to think and were not overburdened with case work, would be to give each Secretary a manageable charge and recognize that this might result in having more Secretaries than members."

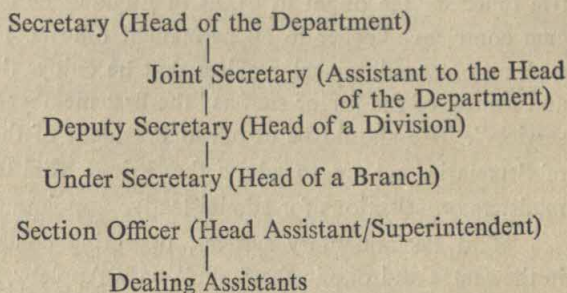
It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that a departmental Secretary should not be unnecessarily kept busy with routine files or functions of a house-keeping nature. In a developmental set-up, the departmental Secretary should rather be encouraged to have a total view of his department and its problems, plan with an eye to the future and bear complete and undivided responsibility for his department.

The same may be said in respect of lessening the burdens at the lower levels of the hierarchy, that is, in respect of officers like the Deputy Secretary and the Joint Secretary. As Appleby points out, in a developmental public administration, costs of administration are bound to surpass the savings. The huge profits are rather indirect, subtle and spread over non-profit items like popular contentment due to the existence of an able and efficient system of ruler-ruled relations. Appleby does not propose fixation of any ceiling on personnel in a developmental public administration like that of India. So he rebuts the highly popular current criticism that the Government of India

is top-heavy. He laments that in India, the Civil Service is busy more with co-ordinating than with administration, that is, policy-making put in action-terms.

Policy-making, in India, is "a watered down term connoting a diffusion of responsibility in an extremely cumbersome process of cross-reference and consultation, and, at the Centre, without real power of enforcing on the States their co-ordinating decision."

The unilinear locus of responsibility from the top to the bottom can thus be traced in the pyramidal-hierarchical set-up :



An important pre-requisite for the pyramidal-hierarchical model is that ministries should be carefully sub-divided "into manageable and unifunctional departments."

The advantages of a pyramidal-hierarchical model of office-relationships are many. Easier, more rationalized promotions coupled with a pay-roll integrated suitably with different strata of officers would remove all discontent among them and produce a healthy psychology of public administration. From Seniors to Juniors, everybody will be forced to remain active and will have a decisive say in policy-making and policy-implementation. The work-load being proportionately distributed, responsibility could be more easily defined and effectively delegated.

Grouping of Secretariat Divisions should follow the principle of homogeneity. That is, departments with common aims should be taken as single homogeneous units. This would greatly simplify departmental actions in a complex cobweb of administration.

Appleby welcomes the single-service system of public administration with the hope "that the existing all-India services could

become more clearly sub-services in a general all-India service with somewhat readier movement, particularly in higher levels, from one sub-service to another. These services are now much too alien to each other".

To ensure better inter-departmental co-ordination at the all-India level, Sri Ayyenger suggested that only the most efficient officer of the all-India cadre should be appointed the Cabinet Secretary. He should be a top-ranking expert, a tactful, energetic, efficient public servant. Co-ordination should be his great positive function. He ought to be, as in England he is, the adviser cum conscience-keeper to all permanent officers. He should be such an outstanding senior officer that he enjoys the confidence and respect of the junior staff as "the first member of the public services". "He should be ex-officio President of the Committee of Secretaries set up to advise the Prime Minister and other ministers on selections for administrative appointments."

"Two Parliamentary systems, operating concurrently, one in the centre and one in the States", says Appleby, "are capable of coming under the control of different parties". If the scopes of national and State powers are sought to be constitutionally enumerated, the hands of the national government to undertake national development projects would be just tightened. Consequently, a rigid federal scheme of government cannot be organized in India. The three Lists in the Seventh Schedule of the Indian Constitution clearly reveal that the Centre has not been endowed with sufficient powers to implement the development plans. "Land-rights", for example, to which much central attention has to be paid, is a subject in the State List. To some, the solution lies in upgrading many State-subjects into central (or at least concurrent subjects) and to follow persuasive methods by the Centre and their respective officers. Even coercion may be necessary, if these fail.

Sri Ayyengar wanted to bring about greater co-ordination—not through the highly centralized initiative and enterprise of any single officer or committee but by suitable modifications in the structure of the organisation so as to secure co-ordination at appropriate levels on a decentralized basis. It is thus obvious

that a happy note of compromise should be struck, somewhere between Appleby's suggestion of centralising and Ayyengar's suggestion of decentralising Indian Civil Services, in order to make it fully development-oriented.

The great defect of the Indian central administration, according to Appleby, is the lack of a hierarchic, pyramidal structure and the 'transmission belt' type of vertical structure, or rather, the linear, upward-downward locus of responsibility.

Again, adequate emphasis has not been laid on the stability and continuity of the Civil Service and on making its members service-conscious, instead of cadre-conscious. They must be prevented from being too much defensive, too little imaginative and dynamic.

Such facts as these at once bring to a focus the need for developing, as Appleby suggests, the best environmental and emotional factors for the ideal performance of the bureaucracy. There must be a clear outline of the needs of the nation which the government would like to fulfil. Responsibility, at all levels, must be fixed. There must be adequate underpinning to buttress heavy responsibility. Delegation, wherever necessary, must be facilitated. Maximum personal capabilities must be pooled. Action must be immediate and expedited ; administration, in general, made sufficiently flexible and mobile.

The Simon Commission admitted that while the work of a Civil Servant in England was specialized but seldom technical, the Indian Civil Servants had to do their jobs in the districts "far removed from the headquarters of government, and in the public mind, they carry an individual responsibility for the success or failure of the administration". A. D. Gorwala recalls in his famous Report that "the economic climate of the time was completely opposed to the ideas of state entrance into hitherto unvisited regions". Foreigners did not consider the economic development of India so desperately necessary as Indians do now. Yet, as Gorwala says, the Sukkur barrage, the Sind irrigational dams, the Madras hydro-electric projects, the Lloyd Dam, the Poona canals—all these are towering achievements of which any Indian Civil Servant during British rule might be legitimately proud,

Growth of such expertise in administration has only to be intensified. Civil Service in India has now two main functions—operational and developmental. In both respects, it must prevent national wastage and misdirection of men and materials and marshal administrative intelligence for the common cause of national upliftment.

There has been a lively debate as to whether students of social sciences should be preferred in the recruitment of the civil services. Those who oppose such recruitment think that such a scheme would narrow down the field of choice of candidates, might upset the programmes of studies in Universities, force candidates for the Civil Service Examinations to study a few subjects only.

Laski and Barker support the view that the syllaby for civil service examinations should be biased towards social science subjects like Economics, Political Science, Public Administration, Sociology and Law.⁷ Barker thinks that researchers in Social Sciences should be taken in larger numbers even though they are "age-barred" in the normal sense of that term ; for, they know "the social universe" and its different worlds better than others. They have already had a lot of opportunity of attending Seminars, Refresher Courses and Extension Lectures in their respective branches of specialization. Graham Wallas said before the MacDonnel Commission that it would be better if Civil Servants are also chosen from more aged, experienced men of the outside world. The suggestions of Laski, Barker and Graham Wallas have, to some extent, been adopted in India. Twice the Government of India, in 1947 and 1956, arranged for special recruitment of Civil Servants from amongst trained, experienced and senior-most outsiders.

The reflection of Kelsall is highly significant.⁸ He says, "Recent investigations in Scotland and elsewhere have shown

⁷ Barker in *The British Civil Servant*, Edited by Robson, Ch. II ; also his articles in the *Political Quarterly*, 1936, pp. 202-204 and 1944, pp. 99-100.

⁸ Paper of R. K. Kelsall, "The social background of the higher civil services" in the *Political Quarterly*, special number on Civil Service, 1954.

that some two-thirds of the children with a high level of measured intelligence have fathers in the manual and routine non-manual categories." Such children have later developed into fine Civil Servants. This shows that given proper encouragement, Civil Servants may emerge from any social stratum and that a good Civil Servant is 'made', he does not 'grow'.

In his report, Gorwala says, "Training, besides aiming at precision and clarity in the conduct of business and improvement of staff morale, must also encourage the civil servant to see his work in its widest context and to persevere with his own educational development. It must prepare him for higher work and greater responsibilities and attune his outlook and methods to the needs of changing times."

Walker says that people often miserably fail "to consider public administration as a Science with a body of fundamental principles" and insist on treating it "as an art or mystery revealed only to those who have followed the initiatory rite through which they have passed on fortunately as a faculty inborn, which is denied to all who are not blessed with it at birth."⁹

Universities have, undoubtedly, to play an important role in training Civil Servants. There must be proper co-operation and co-ordination between Universities and Government Institutes. Seminars, study-tours, extension-lectures, discussion-groups and refresher courses should be organized.

While ancillary training would include such features like giving a go-by to the traditional class-room atmosphere, like vigorous attempts for discovery of fresh talents and correction of personal handicaps, the post-probation training would have to include visit to other related branches of administration and inter-departmental change of personnel.

"Part of a wise system of official training", says Graham Wallas, "would consist in sending young officials for experience in the kind of work which they are to organize".¹⁰ Attitude and aptitude must be made to converge at a point and made to

⁹ H. Walker—*Training public employees in Great Britain*.

¹⁰ Graham Wallas—*Human nature in Politics*, p. 263.

reflect not only on what is usually taken to be the character of the administrator but also on what specific, positive role he is called upon to play.

Delivering the R. R. Kale Memorial Lecture at the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics in 1954, Sri W. R. Natu said that only when economic development acquires sufficient momentum, can the State-machinery be safely utilized for ensuring social justice through the enforcement of a fair distribution of income.

But in every underdeveloped economy, strengthening the political organization for greater social justice in a planned economy, cannot wait till the game of planning is half-started, till, that is to say, a perfect developmental equilibrium is stabilized at the Full Employment level and a thorough rationalisation of the productive process is reached. Reorganization of the political and administrative mechanics must keep pace with the newer, more varied, stages of planned economy so that social, political and economic agencies start functioning right from the scratch.¹¹

The Planning Commission of India described, for the first time, the positive role of the Civil Service in the Indian Welfare State as follows : To develop and better the general administrative system. Secondly, to set up a proper organ for rural development whose power would radiate right around the village self-governing communities ; thirdly, to co-ordinate the rural development divisions in the context of a plan for common national extension services ; fourthly, to integrate the different regional self-governing organs and their development programmes of a State with those of other States.¹²

Civil Service in a Welfare State, according to Robson, has two functional media—regulation and service.¹³ But the numerous social welfare programmes undertaken by the Welfare State have made the regulatory activities of the executive less important

¹¹ Nurkse—*Problems of capital formation*, Ch. I.

¹² *First Five Year Plan*, Vol. I, Part II, Ch. VII, paragraph 7.

¹³ *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, pp. 336-339.

than its service functions. As such, many departments have much more positive and creative part to play to-day than they had to do before.

A field survey brings out the following functional aspects of the Civil Service in a Welfare State : planning out the priorities ; tabulation and interpretation of all sorts of intelligence ; reporting to higher and allied authorities ; collection and collation of information of a specialized as well as general nature ; co-ordination ; correspondence and communication with the relevant bodies.

Moreover, the Civil Service has also to function as the entrepreneur with reference to the large number of Boards and such other statutory authorities through which public administration is carried on in a modern Welfare State. In such cases, some additional functional aspects of the Civil Service in a Welfare State may be noted : administrative supervision ; informing and advising the higher executive, generally, the Cabinet, which is the political functionary of the State ; top level directional undertakings, managerial in nature, on planning ; constant and comprehensive fulfilment of statutory obligations ; standardizing and improving upon, if necessary, the administrative procedure.¹⁴

Widening the ambit of recruitment, making it more up-to-date and dynamic, improved pay-scales, rationalized training-schemes, better service-conditions, — these may greatly inspire the Civil Servants to identify themselves more faithfully with the functional aspects of a planned Welfare State.

A good recruitment-system which pools the most intellectually talented and gifted youths and an ideal training-system that moulds them into desirable casts, offer the solution. Any Ministerial intervention which kills their imagination and initiative, is an obvious hindrance. So also is misinformed attack of aggressive legislators equally undesirable.

To a great extent, Civil Servants should be encouraged to

¹⁴ Appleby, *Big Democracy*, Ch. 6 ; Jurin, *Democracy : A challenge to better Management*, Ch. 5 ; Waldo, *Government by procedure*.

foster a spirit of selfless service if they are to rise above pettiness. They must also cultivate a total governmental sense as against a narrow departmental one, whenever they are to solve various administrative problems. They must further be prepared to sacrifice immediate personal or departmental gains. Gladly shouldering their respective responsibilities, they must patiently wait for the net results.

Goodall declares that Planning and Policy are not synonymous. Planning, he defines, is co-ordination of policy and action. Long-term total Planning in its factual and functional context in the developing Welfare State, is much more than mere administration.¹⁵

Plans, Lilienthal said, must be executable. "The T. V. A. idea of Planning", he reminded, "sees action and planning not as things separate and apart but as one single and continuous process."¹⁶

Fritz Morstein Marx declares that Planning, in some form or other, passes through all the levels of the administrative agencies.¹⁷ In this sense, it may well be said that Planning is a phase of Management. Management of Planning becomes effective when planners are all along in touch with the operating personnel. This presupposes that planners must be imaginative. Massiveness of operations and complexity of data must never overwhelm or bewilder them.¹⁸

A National Plan may emerge from a collegiate type of central authority like the Indian Planning Commission. But the other administrative departments must be allowed to play their respective roles fully and effectively. This is possible when the National Plan is broadly co-ordinated, leaving to the different departments and subordinate agencies sufficient power to work out the details and to introduce, in the course of implementation, minor changes here and there while the "core plan" remains unchanged. This

¹⁵ M. R. Goodall, *Administration and Planning for Economic Development*.

¹⁶ Lilienthal, T. V. A.—*Democracy on the March*.

¹⁷ Fritz Morstein Marx (edited), *Elements of Public Administration*.

¹⁸ John D. Millet, *Planning and administration*.

has, indeed, a great psychological effect. Each of the subordinate departments would be satisfied with the belief that it is authorised to formulate the most important objective of the final Plan. This implies, however, that the Civil Service would have to be ready to look ahead, to choose between alternatives and evaluate priorities. This is a nice way of *personalising the delegation of functions*.¹⁹ Viewed from another angle, this also implies *institutionalizing the delegation of functions*, because administrative powers, in such a set-up, have constantly to be delegated, by the Centre to the States, by higher to lower authorities, to autonomous public bodies and corporations.

The management of technical assistance projects, in agriculture, industry, mining and power, constantly involves administrative problems concerning matters like budgeting, procedure, communication and over-all planning, while the basic administrative problem of an underdeveloped economy is to "hasten slowly" an administrative transition from classical-semi-feudal stage to the modern-rational, from agrarian to the industrial, from colonial to the self-governing.²⁰

One of the most important sociological enquiries about Planning is related to an assessment of the components of decision-making. This begins, of course, with a possible classification of Decisions involved in the process of Planning. A sociograph on the next page serves as a ready illustration.

Goodnow, the hoary-headed authority, thinks that the performance of public administrators is only passive, in the sense that they are merely to execute the policy.²¹ In other words, his characterization of the work of the Civil Servants belongs to the third and fourth categories of the sociograph.

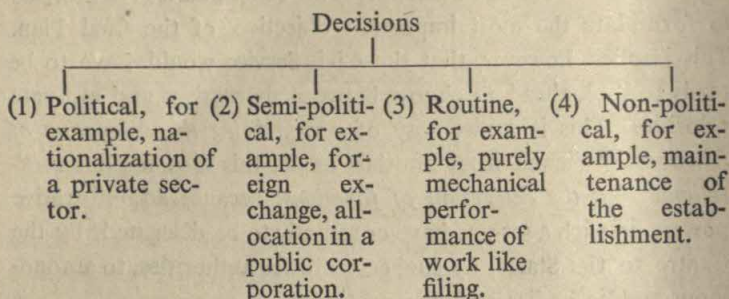
But Goodnow's assigning such a restricted role to the public

¹⁹ Report of the Special Committee on Public Administrative Problems, U. N. Technical Assistance Administration, concerning standards and techniques of public administration with special reference to Technical Assistance for underdeveloped countries, 1951.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ F. J. Goodnow, *Principles of Administrative Law*,

SOCIOGRAPH OF DECISIONS



functionaries appears quite unrealistic to-day. Policy-making, decision, execution—all go together in building up a Civil Servant in the context of a planned Welfare State.

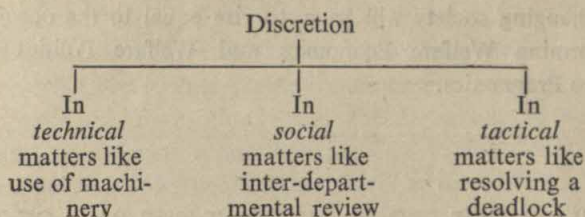
Similarly, Goodnow's comment that the Legislature is to decide policies and the Administration is to execute them, sounds too naive. As Appleby says, "Government is a stream, a 'continuum' of policy-making and action." Government, also, is a unique stampede of issues, opinions, interests, institutions. In an ideal system, administrative decision, in its technical aspect, must be fully separated from subjective factors. Actually, however, this may be seldom possible, specially, in a lively democracy where decision-making is the final outcome of political evaluation in the sense that programmes and issues are first formulated by party conventions, thereafter, blessed by the formal approval of the electorate.

Policy-making or decision-reaching is never a sudden brain-wave of a set of officials. Neither is it a legislative-administrative quotient. It is not, also, the result of an application of unrestricted power by the administrator to feel the way out of a blind alley. It is rather the outcome of an interaction of various forces and numerous brains brought to a focus by the active lead of the administrator, co-ordinating legal and political issues by a subtle factual interpretation and technical suggestions of this staff. Policy-making is thus a resultant of the pull of many forces—

legislatures and their committees, Cabinets and their committees, the Civil Service, the Political Parties and finally, the electorate as the articulate medium of public opinion. Ministers are nearer to public opinion, Civil Servants nearer to facts. The political wing in policy-making (the legislature) must fully clarify the issues and the criteria. This would help the Civil Servant, as an accredited social planner, best implement the issues provided he is granted a minimum of freedom as a technician.

A sociographic as well as an analytic study of administrative decisions should further take into account the discretionary powers of the executive.²²

SOCIOGRAPH OF DISCRETION



Greater discretionary powers, commensurate with the functions they are to discharge, should be granted to the Civil Servants. At every stage of the implementation of the policy, the official is a 'creative agent', the policymaker, moulding the future, shaping the matrix on which new ideas and ideals are to be embossed.

The difficulties in the way of prompt decision-making may be listed as follows. First, lack of adequate training, vision and imagination. These basic qualities helping decision-making may be fostered by proper planning of recruitment and training of Civil Servants. Secondly, the climate of regulation and restriction in the Secretariat or Directorate. This should be chased out by

²² W. A. R. Leys in his article "Ethics and administrative discretion" in the *Public Administrative Review*, Vol. X, 1943; L. D. White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*; Laski, *Reflections on Constitution and Civil Service*.

superior officers, developing a congenial office-atmosphere at each level of the pyramidal-hierarchical set-up. Thirdly, the possibility of undue ministerial or political intervention may be removed by the Party in power, making it mandatory for every one of its followers to toe a rigid code of personal and public ethics. Fourthly, as Appleby says, responsibility is often vague and undefined, resulting in a clash of heterodoxies and delay. Munro admits that even in England, such delays are not infrequent.²³ The remedy here lies in preparing better administrative procedures.

The political branch of the government creates the environment of economic democracy a planned Welfare State like India is to build up. The essentials of an administrative equilibrium dictate that the Civil Service, as the new entrepreneurship in a changing society will have to rise equal to the occasion, transforming Welfare Economics and Welfare Politics into Welfare Pragmatics.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES AT THE BASE OF THE PYRAMIDAL-HIERARCHIC MODEL : AT THE BLOCK LEVEL

A FIELD WORK STUDY

Experiments in corporate living are almost as old as life itself. The *janapadas* of ancient India and the communes of bygone Switzerland are ready illustrations. Gearing up day-to-day administration into feverish activity for developmental works has gone well ahead in modern technocratic administrations. The T. V. A. scheme in the United States and the collective farms in Soviet Russia are technoadministrative models near which leaders often stand amazed. Inspirations such as these struck the open, receptive mind of the late Prime Minister Nehru.

²³ C. K. Munro, *The Fountains in Trafalgar Square : Some reflections on the Civil Service*.

Strong support also came from Sri S. K. Dey who agreed to pilot Indian development projects to be serialized in successive Five Year Plans. The Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement of January, 1952 promised substantial capital-help from the U. S. A. for financing the development schemes which since came to be known as C. D. Projects (Community Development Projects). Gandhian in spirit, in the sense that they conspire an attack on all rural ills like poverty, illiteracy, squalor, ignorance, insanitation, such projects are also supra-Gandhian in the sense that they aim at an allround material sufficiency in addition to the spiritual, and are based, not on *Shrama-dan* (voluntary labour) but on paid labour. Local people, that is to say, have to participate and contribute to a common development-exchequer to which the Government would also contribute in stipulated proportions.

Development Programmes in India have been made to follow what Dean Paul Appleby, the noted American expert on Public Administration, calls the 'pyramidal-hierarchical pattern'. At the apex is the Planning Commission, the supreme central policy-making body. With the concurrence of the Central Cabinet and the ultimate approval of the Indian Parliament, the Commission formulates the Five Year Plan, the segmentary implementation of which is left for each State. The progress of implementation, stage by stage, is also reviewed, from time to time, with reference to the targets, resources, potentials and differentials by the Commission's Programme Evaluation Division.

The Planning Commission consults expert bodies like the National Council for Applied Economic Research, the Anthropological Survey of India etc. to bring patterns of diversified planning into bold relief. This takes place in the formulative or consultative stages, pre-natal, that is to say, so far as the emergence of the Plan is concerned.

The CMPO, and the Development Organisations for places like Asansol and Siliguri, are ad hoc statutory planning bodies.

At the State level, the Minister-in-charge supervises the developmental administration. He is entrusted with policy formation. As economic planning in India has to be agriculture-

oriented, the Development wing of each Indian State has been tagged with the Department of Agriculture. Under the present All-India pattern of the Development Programmes, Planning includes Agricultural Development and Community Development. Public administration in an under-developed economy like India's, has really assumed a pro-agriculture bias.

The N. E. S. (National Extension Services) have been merged with the C. D. Programmes under the general title of 'C. D. and Extension Department'. This was a bold step in the right direction, because the N. E. S. networks seemed to be an extra burden in the hierarchy with no distinguished record of service justifying their individuality.

With the inauguration of the Panchayati Raj, the chief executive officers of the system, the Zilla Parishad chiefs, are recruited from qualified I. A. S. officers. Thus the District-Magistrate is still the pivot of district administration. He is the over-all co-ordinator. But in fact, the B. D. O. is the prime mover in the uphill task of co-ordinating block development with State-development. He is to maintain liaison-activities at all levels of development-bureaucracy of the State.

Yet, since the full-fledged inauguration of the Panchayati Raj, the B. D. O. has been virtually subordinated to the Panchayat chiefs. The Panchayat chiefs, however, belong to a band of local men of influence, usually, affluent businessmen, who have ascended the zenith of power, by clever manipulation of the 'counting of heads'. They are keen about taking a purely local preview of the plan and the project. Though resourceful, as the leaders of regional village politics, they may be obstinately rigid, and utterly colour-blind in respect of the larger interests of the nation. The B. D. O., supposed to be a thoroughly up-to-date, progressive young man, may not always concur with them. There may even be an unholy rivalry between the permanent Civil Service and the lighter sides of the *Demos* typified by the panchayat leaders. Politicalization of the development-bureaucracy at the block-level may have far-flung repercussions. Development-bureaucracy may, indeed, become politically vitiated. *Panchayati raj*, according to the Gandhian model, is quite all

right as an ideal and on the theoretical level. Its working, however, may uncover all the serious defects which a group of unimaginative, locally-motivated, semi-literate panchayat leaders may invariably suffer from.

Keeping planning activities Panchayat-oriented constantly concerns the sociological factor in developmental administration. The B. D. O. and the Panchayat leaders must not have a master-servant relationship. Each has rights and duties vis-à-vis the other. Panchayats have often been found to have been conscious of their rights more than their duties and responsibilities.

Fundamentally, the Panchayats seem to suffer from a serious social handicap—the limitation of local leadership which calls for augmenting the supply of good leaders. So it is that the political factor often prevails upon panchayat leaders to such an extent that the lion's share of the education grant or the priority in construction of a tube-well goes the way the local panchayat leaders would like to manipulate.

In many areas, the Panchayats have been found to reflect local sentiments or what Freudians would be tempted to characterize as the drive of the *collective unconscious* in a limited scale. Localism discolours many a development project. Local prejudices or superstitions like casteism mar the planning activities of a locality, pronouncing a certain sectarian bias, enlisting or demobilising the support of a group of people.

At a conference of the Chairmen and the Vice-chairmen of the Zilla Parishads of West Bengal held in July, 1965, under the Chairmanship of the Chief Minister, the State Government decided to pay 15% of the total yield from land revenue to these bodies. The Parishads should have sufficient finance if they are really expected to do solid work. The utilisation of public funds by such non-official bodies may, however, provoke serious criticisms. Local politics will certainly interfere with the management of affairs and distribution of funds. Lack of experience is likely to lead to wastage of funds. Financial control by official agencies, on the other hand, may cripple local initiative.

Distribution of test relief is one of the new responsibilities imposed on the Zilla Parishads. Needing occasional relief from

public funds is, unfortunately, a normal feature of the present-day economy in India. Local bodies are familiar with local conditions and requirements. Hence these are undoubtedly the fittest agencies for distribution of test relief. But the Zilla Parishads are yet to gather experience and inspire confidence. The State Government has rightly decided to provide them with the necessary official help. Senior executive officers of the rank of Additional District Magistrates (A. D. M.) have been deputed for the purpose. Such an arrangement is likely to tie up the link between people's representatives at the local level and the official hierarchy at the State level. The A. D. M. is likely to consult the B. D. O.'s on the organization of the scheme of test-relief.

But associating the B. D. O., as the official circle officer, with non-development works of a non-permanent nature like the organization of test relief, over and above his normal routine work and work of developmental supervision, has also been severely criticised. This reduces the total efficiency-potential of the block development officer even to a sub-optimum point.

Test relief, as is well-known, is the ready-reckoner of job-saturation. The local development officer concerned has to supervise projects by engaging unemployed people of the locality who get some financial relief thereby. As the local people have no obligation to contribute proportionally towards the execution of these projects, they welcome such spoon-feeding by the Government, instead of taking part in proportionally contributed development projects. While, therefore, the system of test relief has come to supplant, not supplement, local development projects, it has also the defect of keeping the local people unduly dependent on the doles of the State. Prudential economic planning and sound public administration demand the early abolition of the mammoth national wastage.

Although the B. D. O.'s are made acquainted with model schemes in the course of their departmental training, the training system is not fairly comprehensive. Periodical refresher-courses, tours in other blocks in the same State and outside—these are absolutely essential for bringing about an all-India uniformity in block-development.

The V. L. W. (Village Level Worker), previously known as the *Gram Sevak*, is the immediate subordinate office, concerned with that of the B. D. O., for social welfare in Indian villages for the present. Usually, most of these workers are chosen from unemployed matriculates. This low educational standard of the V. L. W.'s accounts for the very limited scope of their promotion. But the V. L. W. must, undoubtedly, be remodelled to serve as the strongest nut of development-machinery in the block. In these days, the problem of educated unemployed is very acute. There is no reason why a V. L. W., with a good service-record and with a university degree, should not be promoted to the post of the B. D. O. and allowed to ascend the higher levels of the development-hierarchy.

The incidence of responsibility for the proper and improper execution of the development projects leans dangerously against the fragile tapestry of a dyarchic administration. The B. D. O. is in charge of the works of the V. L. W. as well as of the A. E. O. (Agriculture Extension Officer). In the present agriculturally-biassed context of the Indian rural development, both the V. L. W. and the A. E. O. are primarily concerned with agrarian upliftment. Concerning his technical know-how, however, the A. E. O. works under the D. A. O. (District Agricultural Officer) who examines his tour-diaries and, by such other direct and indirect methods, supervises his technical work. Unless the B. D. O. and the D. A. O. develop a durable bond of semi-informal and semi-personal official relationship, no wing of the rural developmental bureaucracy at the base is supposed to know anything about the other. Apart from ignorance, such a dual government leaves the door open for mutual distrust and misunderstanding. As a better alternative, it is often suggested that the B. D. O. should be relieved of the highly technical and tiresome work of keeping a watch over local agriculture. This specialized function should be completely entrusted with the A. E. O. and the rural dyarchy should be dissolved at the earliest opportunity.

Responsibility for misdevelopment must lie squarely with the B. D. O.'s. With a much lighter load that relates only to absolutely non-agricultural aspects of village development

like the promotion of rural handicrafts, social education, road development and the like, the B. D. O. is expected to do the needful in an all-out linear programming of carefully calculated targets over manageable areas. It is beyond doubt that all aspects of the developmental duty are, in some way or other, connected with agricultural upliftment. But this must not be an excuse for overburdening the B. D. O. with sundries and oddments requiring a completely different and thorough training in an alien discipline.

Should the B. D. O. fail to assert himself even in this limited sphere due to a developmental division of labour as outlined above, he should be encouraged to explain his position in his reports periodically to be submitted to the higher authorities. This automatically prepares the ground for an over-all check up right from the base of development. The B. D. O.'s are made permanent in the cadre of the Junior Civil Service of the State. No question of relegating them to lower positions due to their misfunctions, can thus arise.

Besides this *negative* angle wherefrom the problem of fixation of responsibility for misplanning of development projects can be examined, there is the *positive* angle : how to stimulate the incentive of the development-bureaucrats in favour of fulfilment of the targets. Apart from recommendations for departmental promotion to corresponding higher posts, there must be regular award of medals and cash prizes (as in the case of good field workers in census operations). Widest blockwise publicity of good development works, mentioning officers linked up with such success, would greatly increase the loyalty of the bureaucracy to the Plan and naturally, foster roots of co-operation and co-ordination between its different wings.

Co-ordination of developmental affairs now needs a far greater attention. There is, for example, the economy of cost. Rationalization of the development administration can greatly be achieved by streamlining the co-ordination media or activating the inter-unit diagonals of development-administration. Promotion of cottage industries is taken as a vital part of rural development. And quite a large amount of money and energy are spent on this score. But what, it may be pertinently asked,

is the return of this physical and financial deployment? Pruning of uneconomic projects, coupled with a modest calculus of targets equated to the potential resources, must be the cardinal feature of developmental theory and practice.

The primary aim of co-ordination of development projects, at all levels of the State and at inter-State levels, is to bring about the ideal emotional integration of all sections of the Indians, irrespective of their differences in caste, creed, language, religion, sex, colour and economic conditions. A uniformity of development-objectives simplifies the problem of making the masses plan-conscious and crystallising the loyalty of the people to the developmental activities of the government.

In fact, all other aims of co-ordination of development projects veer round this hectic search for emotional mass-solidity in favour of the Plan.

Development-programmes of India being agriculturally biassed, they tend to reach a rotund uniformity characteristic of their own. Through the Agriculture Department, developmental uniformity is built up around the unity that is co-ordination.

Yet there is always a bi-polar tug-of-war between uniformity *versus* diversity. Over the plains, crop production would receive top priority. Over the hills, road-construction takes this primacy. Patterns of developmental diversity are detected by the Planning Commission in the stage of policy-formulation through offshoots like its Sociological Division. In the process of policy-implementation, however, such patterns are also detected, and necessary adjustments in the planning business are made, by the Agriculture Department. There are also semi-autonomous Boards like the Digha Development Authority which is in charge of developing an oceanic topography against the background of rural development. The B. D. O. should, if and when necessary, be alert enough to report any detection of pattern-discrepancies that may not only benefit the locality but also serve the larger interests of the nation.

Developmental Planning may be divided into urban and rural projects. Identification of the rural area is, however,

difficult. It is usually presumed that existence of a municipality typifies a town. The ratio of facilities in urban and rural units is usually calculated at 1 : 4. Conurbation (continuous urbanation) is often supported. The ruralization of urban units by the "cross-roads" scheme of Kerala or the dispersed villages scheme of parts of South India is also supported. To take cognizance of all such schemes, block-development has got to be revolutionized in the not too distant future.

There are many voluntary bodies which take part in the organized group-behaviour called Planning. Co-ordination of their works with the functional routine of the developmental bureaucracy is very important. With the resignation of Sri Nanda, ex-Home Minister, from its chairmanship, the activities of the Bharat Sevak Samaj carry less official weightage, although they have not ceased to be substantially significant. Students of universities and colleges have, in the past, supplemented, in their own ways, the work of rural development with organized, voluntary social work during academic vacations, in accordance with a pilot project launched by the Ministry of Education, Government of India. With the gradual, expected expansion of this network of social service by the young hopefuls, the machinery for co-ordinating the activities of the development machinery with the Social Service or Social Welfare wings of the government and non-government educational institutions needs thorough overhauling.

Finance sometimes stands in the way of smooth co-ordination of development projects. Paucity of funds might prevent the proper maintenance of a road built up by local development executives.

Yet, paradoxically enough, the main defect in the administration of the Development units lies in the fact that in many cases, they function with no better purpose than to serve as mere spending agencies. How to spend away the money that fructifies in individual pockets—seems to be the constant headache of the officials when the financial provisions are about to lapse.

The way the erstwhile Development Programme called '*kutchra road scheme*' was found to operate in a few rural areas,

is a glaring instance to the point. This pet scheme of development experts was supposed to highlight the construction of a *kutchra* (unmetalled) road or culvert, not more than a mile long, within the budgetary limit of Rs. 1200 to which the local people and the government were to contribute. Without any provision for periodical repair of these *kutchra* roads, it was found that in many places these roads were washed away by excessive rainwater and this development finance turned to be a sheer waste.

The relationship between the different wings of development-bureaucracy is governed by formal and informal hinges of co-operation and co-ordination. Formally, such relationship grows up in and through the files, through procedural formalities of the departmental rules.

The crucial co-ordinating machinery in the planning-hierarchy in the all-India level is, of course, the Planning Commission itself.

The Panchayat Act itself defines the respective powers and functions of the 'Three tier development bureaucracy' consisting of the 'Gram Panchayat' at the village-level, the 'Anchalik Parishad' at the block-level and the 'Zilla-Parishad' at the district-level. The Planning Department of the State Executive dovetails needs and resolves conflicts at the State-level.

Interdepartmental ministerial committees at the State-level and inter-ministerial meetings at the all-India level, also, help co-ordination, negatively, by removing occasions of conflict and positively, by contributing to unilinear decisions.

One of the key personalities in the interdepartmental co-ordination is the Chief Secretary himself who, in his personal as well as official supervisory capacity, helps the formulation of uniform and unanimous decisions among departmental secretaries. There is hardly any better way of bringing about smooth co-ordination among different departments like, say, Agriculture and Irrigation, involved in the concerted play of work and learn that is the sum and substance of the development business. The Cabinet co-ordinates when even all these co-ordinators cannot succeed.

A normally routinised administration builds up what is

known as the red tape. The red tape is traditionally despised as an internal dilly-dallying means of the nagging bureaucracy. But such an internationally famed expert on public administration like Dean Paul Appleby warmly praised the red tape in so far as it epitomizes the passion for equal treatment, fairness and justice for receiving which all the branches of administration would be equally eager.

Moreover, administrative decisions in India by and large are getting quasi-judicial. A certain amount of red tapism is sure to build up an automatic system of checks and balances, a sort of alarm bell when something untoward has got to be stopped.

As statistics tend to be more and more intriguing, as overall targets, derivative targets and spillover targets seem to be a matter of deep concern before the master of the art of public administration, informal and impersonal roots of co-ordination between the vital organs of development executive grow up. Happily, the Government appears to be well aware of the value of such supra-official methods of co-ordination. The utility of seminars and such other across-the-table discussions arranged by the Government at regular intervals cannot be assessed otherwise.

An inquiry into the factors which help co-ordination of activities in the different units may be self-sufficing only when the causes of delay in implementation of respective official schemes are probed. The same personal factor which favours co-ordination, may very well prevent it if the *dramatis personae* fail to act concertedly. Development bureaucrats fighting like Kilkenny cats in a departmental meeting is not an uncommon sight. For personal reason, a Director may not often like to attend a departmental meeting sponsored by a Secretary. Administration, it must be remembered, must be impersonal and the officialdom must harmonize all differences between themselves so as to save the files from the fires of such civil wars.

Co-ordination of development-units becomes quite complex in view of the ingress of technocrats along with the civilians. Developmental planning being a fairly technical proposition,

this invasion of public administration by technology must be taken for granted. The Planning Commission looks after the general harmonisation of the technocracy with the developmental bureaucracy. At the State level, the Chief Secretary performs this task. Thus it is that the skilled activities of the P. W. D. or the Construction Board are brought to a focus for the fulfilment of common objectives of the development planners. Due to such centralizing tendencies, the Chief Secretary may assume the role of a super-secretary. But this cannot be helped. Nature always abhors a vacuum. And this is all the more true in the field of public administration of Planning.

Corruption, figuratively called "national haemorrhage", is eating into the vitals of developmental projects. Although development audit has no power for instituting physical verification of the departmental stocks, the Anti-corruption Department, having been linked up with the Vigilance Commission, can bring about the desired rectification in the financial irregularities involving the development programmes. Thus may be instituted another system of checks and balances. Investigation by the next higher authority in the administrative hierarchy also serves the purpose. Scrutiny of each project by the Finance Department is a must in view of the fact that concurrence of this Department is the most important procedural formality the Development office has to pass through before a programme can actually be launched. Financial review and scrutiny of each development project acts as a very effective measure which checks uneconomic, improper, or irregular implementations.

Experts of the Ford Foundation on public administration have recently advised the Government of West Bengal to institute a new tripartite scheme comprising the State Board of Development, the Regional Directorate and the Regional Committee. The Foundation has, obviously, an eye to the economics of the developmental planning. The new arrangement is expected to circumvent departmental decision-taking which is often a time-consuming, negative and wasteful process. Much delay in the implementation of agreed decisions, specially, in relation to the continuing schemes, can thus be stopped.

Apart from the occasional work rendered by the Publicity Department of the Government, there is no organized effort to read the psychology of the local people concerned. Feeling the popular pulse having thus been an essential part of the duty of the B. D. O. as the primary development executive of the locality, the latter has always to be very careful and tactful, seeing at all times which way the cat jumps.

Sociologically speaking, emotional identification of the people with the plan, or what is summarily described as the "we feeling" of the people who are all engaged in the planning process, has not been found to be very spectacular. An unhealthy rivalry between the B. D. O. and the Panchayat leaders has already been hinted at. The jeep of the B. D. O. had often been taken for a symbol of a tyrannical bureaucracy. Perhaps due to such mounting ill-feeling of the people against the B. D. O.'s that the Government has recently issued orders banning the use of jeeps by the B. D. O.'s. Such popular trends are not very encouraging.

In this rather disheartening context, many people, including specialists, party-leaders and publicists like Jay Prakash Narain, suggest that instead of planning from the top (as is now practised), we should have planning right from below. Till now, the data-collection, in all gigantic projects like census operations and planning, proceeds from below ; for in all these big public undertakings, the final lay-out for the nation for the future is made ready after a searching field-work at the village-level. This is good so far as it goes. But the people of different localities in India have no clear idea of the worries and woes, the trials and tribulations of the nation. It is not undemocratic for the rulers in a democratic set-up to request the people to keep in mind the demands and dictates of national policy. The ready response of the Indian masses to the clarion call of the Government to fortify the nation during the Chinese imbroglio is a splendid illustration.

Moreover, like tight-rope walking, planning is a highly specialized work requiring a lot of *expertise* in different sectors of modern life. Due to the tremendous impact of industrialization

on public administration, planning is now assuming a composite, *total* character, involving the creative destiny of teeming millions, affecting the diverse complexes of the fast-moving modern life. This is true irrespective of the rural or urban sectors which are to be planned. In the field of urban planning, the complexity is only too pronounced. A diagnostic survey of needs by a specialized body is what is wanted.

The best solution, at least in the Indian rural context, lies in some such arrangement according to which policy-making should proceed from the top (from an autonomous all-India body of reputed specialists), while execution should be left entirely with the B. D. O. He may, if he feels it necessary, take technical advice from separate departmental bodies; but regarding the implementation of these policies, he himself should be the chief. There is no other way to resolve clashes of interests at the lower level in the ill-developed, poorly equipped, but slowly changing, gradually developing, Indian villages. Co-ordination is an overworked expression, just as the B. D. O. is an overworked official. It is high time both should connote simpler contexts and shorter dimensions, although Co-ordination is said to be a simultaneous equation involving two variables, Organization and Management.



CHAPTER VI

SUMMING UP AT THIS STAGE : PROLOGUE TO A UNIFIED FIELD THEORY OF PLANNING

Pascal said that he was bewildered when he thought of the eternal silence of the vast space. But a modern individual is perhaps bewildered by jarring sounds in the infinite the moment he tries to tune a radio, sitting in the balmy calmness of his parlour. This great acoustic displeasure is attributable, according to the expert scientists, to the acrobatics, or rather the aerobatics, of electro-magnetic waves.

An equally bewildering world of complex disharmonies is the social system. Much to the chagrin of a budding sociologist, behaviour-patterns in the society can seldom be correlated. Individuals fence and feint, pressure-groups and ginger groups enter into imbroglios, society is torn asunder by divisions into the big bosses and petty potentates. Comparisons between different behaviour-patterns thus seem to be odious and discomforting, if not meaningless.

To a sociologist, however, behaviour-patterns can be bracketed according to their similitude and direction. As reflections of the nervous-system, they are often found to conform to a neurological motor-mechanics. This cause-and-effect analysis of human motivation explains why it is that some individual has to eat humble pie, why the cymbals of political authority shout louder in one form of government than in another, why

the government, under the misguidance of pressure-groups, sometimes acquires much skill in closing the stable door after the horse had escaped, why, like the molten lava of a volcano in eruption, mass-movements violently engulf the social pasture at a breakneck speed. By a process of systematic and searching observation and experiment, by empirical trial and error, some laws of uniformity may be marked in each stage of social development. These generalizations concerning man and society both acting and reacting in a state of flux, make social sciences possible. They highlight the emergence of a social summity, a structure of unity and amity, offsetting the contradictory behaviour-patterns of the individuals in the society, dovetailing the socially desirable behaviour-patterns for greater social and individual benefits. This technique of knowing and altering behaviour-patterns reaches its climax in the Art of Planning. A purely unplanned society was thought to be the ideal in the *laissez-faire* age. But the concept of the State has transformed the negative role of the Police State with the minimum of functions, into the positive role of the Welfare State, with an ever-expanding public sector. Planning spotlights the superfine shades of social life, places each of them on the revolving retina of the public authority as the planner. Maximisation of individual welfare and happiness seems to be the *raison d'être* of planning. Thus, the pure empirical method is not applicable to the sociologist of planning. Pure empiricism must be reinforced by supra-empiricism, even spiritualism, because the empiricist-planner must take into careful consideration certain fundamental values like Liberty, Justice, Equality, Welfare and Happiness. Even when these teleological considerations condition the methodological development of planning, there is no reason why this development should not be viewed as a scientific development. Social Sciences deal with relatively applicable data because the components of the social process, that is, the webs of behaviour-patterns and social institutions, are highly complex and often not easily discernible. In this sense, the empirical progress of the methodology of planning may be characterised as a tendency to develop a natural science of planning. However, as field-

experiences. The executive would, also, pass through different phases of change, corresponding to the different stages of the mixed economy. If planning is democratic, personalization of authority would have to be democratized. That is why, in the early stages of planning, the government must 'bell the cat', setting up, that is to say, popular, self-governing institutions like the co-operatives and the panchayats, so that in the more mature stages of a planned democratic society, this governmental spoon-feeding would disappear. The government must listen to the advice embodied in the oxymoron, "hasten slowly".

The world, as it is now, exhibits a cold paradox of hunger in the midst of food-surpluses. There are certain underdeveloped areas which are in the doldrums of chronic poverty. These countries are mainly agricultural. The farmers are ignorant of the use of mechanical 'gadgets'. Industrial development is at a low ebb. Due to the small intake of capital, productivity is abnormally low.

This definition of underdeveloped areas does not materially alter the position of the social planner outlined so far. A modified sociological direction of planning for such areas it does lay down though. Planning, in an underdeveloped economy, must initially start with the imparting of vocational training to the unskilled masses. Along with this provision for skill-formation, there must be proper scope for capital-formation. The Sarvodaya process of planning advocated by Gandhiji, indicates a workable solution. Dignity of labour must be acknowledged. All the people must be encouraged to learn some art or craft. Otherwise, the problem of unemployment in an underdeveloped economy cannot be solved.

The planners of an underdeveloped economy must know that the right to work is the most important right of the citizen. This involves the sociological question of deciding the placement of the worker. The counsels of the psychiatrist, the ergonomist, the physiologist and the social scientist are extremely valuable in this connection.

The planning-problem of an underdeveloped economy does not remain pegged here. The poor people tend to judge the

effects of planning not by the fulfilment or semi-fulfilment of the spectacular plan-targets nor by the magnificent financial outlays involved ; they judge the success of a plan with reference to the availability of their basic material requirements. They eagerly want to see how quickly the public authority delivers the goods. For this reason, industries with comparatively short gestation or incubation should be set up in an underdeveloped economy. It is impossible to expect the speed of a Sputnik in a worn out wooden shell. No doubt, the slowing down of the "take off" stage in the short period planning of this economy is painful, as the poor, teeming millions quickly want to get out of the slough of poverty. But certainly this is no occasion for invoking totalitarian planners. Freedom, under Planning, is something the citizen cannot afford to lose. One does not understand the loss of Freedom till one loses it, as one does not understand the loss of eyesight till one loses it.

The Sarvodaya ideal must inspire all planners in so far as it lays emphasis on voluntary co-operation of the masses and on their spiritual regeneration. While economic planning must spearhead the drive for material prosperity, ideal emotional integration through real basic education must do the same for removing spiritual poverty. Honesty and purity are as much valuable in private life as they are in public life. Otherwise, partners in the public service turn into poachers while the merger pot of co-operation is kept boiling. Sarvodaya, thus, rightly lays emphasis on organised, disciplined introspection of the masses through critical self-audit and constructive self-research. Let no public servant receive a Cinderella treatment. Merit, wherever found, must at once be used with merit pre-existing by the planning authority.

Bertrand Russell thinks that¹ the technocratic society of to-morrow can be stabilized if it establishes a world-government, reduces inequality of wealth among the different individuals and adopts a scientific policy of birth-control. All these presuppose the extension of the frontiers of national planning across

¹ Bertrand Russell—*The impact of science on society*.

its geographical contours. National economic planning, in the ultimate analysis, reaches a stage of similarity, through the empirico-synthetic process, in different parts of the world. Fundamentally, the task of planners all over the world includes relating the known precisions concerning how far man has progressed and how he might progress further. Franklin D. Roosevelt, in his inaugural address as the Governor of New York in 1929, said, "... our civilization cannot endure unless we as individuals realise our personal responsibility and dependence on the rest of the world. . . . the 'self-supporting' man or woman has become as extinct as the man of the stone age. Without the help of thousands of others, any one of us would die, naked and starved."² Absence of this spirit of international co-operation would put a sudden, shocking stopper on national planning. Much of its work would turn into mere lumber to be drowned in the sea of oblivion.

Sociologically speaking, roots of co-operation develop through the growth of social and material bases when power, pelf and position are equi-distributed, when a genuine spirit of oneness is born. These broad tendencies are enough to give the planner a direction and a purpose. He will then try to co-operate with the public authority to solve the socio-politico-economic problems with reference to this direction and purpose. In the process, planning-needs and planning-techniques become ramified, sampling-types more and more complex. Statutes become more and more formal as the relations between the souls they want to supervise become more and more informal. Social and political associations begin to influence each other. Better ordering of newly polarized human factors indicates the trend of the future. Stability and mobility equilibrium grows up.

² Howard—*Ten great Americans*, p. 215.

And so here, O Reader, has the time come for us two to part. Toilsome was our journeying together ; not without offence ; but it is done. To me thou wert as a beloved shade the disembodied or not yet embodied spirit of a Brother. To thee I was but as a Voice. Yet was our relation a kind of sacred one ; doubt not that ! For whatsoever once sacred things become hollow jargons, yet while the Voice of Man speaks with Man, hast thou not there the living fountain out of which all sacredness sprang, and will yet spring ? Man, by the nature of him, is definable as 'anincarnated Word'. Ill stands it with me if I have spoken falsely : thine also it was to hear truly. Farewell.

CARLYLE : *The French Revolution*

APPENDIX

SOME ITEMS OF SOCIAL WELFARE ON WHICH FURTHER SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH MAY BE UNDERTAKEN

Social Development (general)

Local community organisation for special development ; mutual aid organisation including cooperatives.

Social Welfare Administration

Methods of organising, coordinating, financing and staffing social welfare services, training of social welfare staff.

Community, Family and Child Welfare

Legal aspects ; economic measures favouring the family ; measures for the aged.

Social Measures of a general nature

Counselling and guidance for families ; social services connected with physical and mental health, education, employment, social security etc. ; methods of case work, group work and community organisation ; recreational facilities for families and children ; rural welfare services.

Social measures, preventive and eradicating, for children

Improvement of social and domestic conditions affecting child labour ; discovery and diagnosis of children in need of special care ; care of children deprived of normal home life ; special care of handicapped children.

Migration

Demographic effects of migration ; improvement of migration statistics as aids in economic and social planning ; social services and facilities necessary for immigrants and their families arriving in a new community ; status of aliens.

Social Defence

Criminalistics and police activities positively directed to the prevention of crime, especially with regard to juvenile delinquency ; prevention

and treatment of juvenile delinquency ; prevention of crime and treatment of adult offenders ; traffic in human beings.

Rehabilitation of the Handicapped

General policy and administration of rehabilitation services ; manufacture, fitting and training in use of aid appliances ; occupational therapy ; after care services ; social services for disabled persons.

Housing and Town and Country Planning

Housing (urban and rural) ; town and country planning, their social aspects.

Population and Demography

Study of population trends and their relation to problems of economic development and social welfare ; methods of field surveys designed to provide information on population changes in relation to economic and social changes ; improvement of demographic statistics as aid to economic and social planning ; legislative and administrative measures affecting population trends.

Statistics and Research

Social Surveys and Social Research ; methodology of studying standards of living.

Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

Methods of improving the status of the individual, promoting observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction as to race, caste, sex, language or religion.

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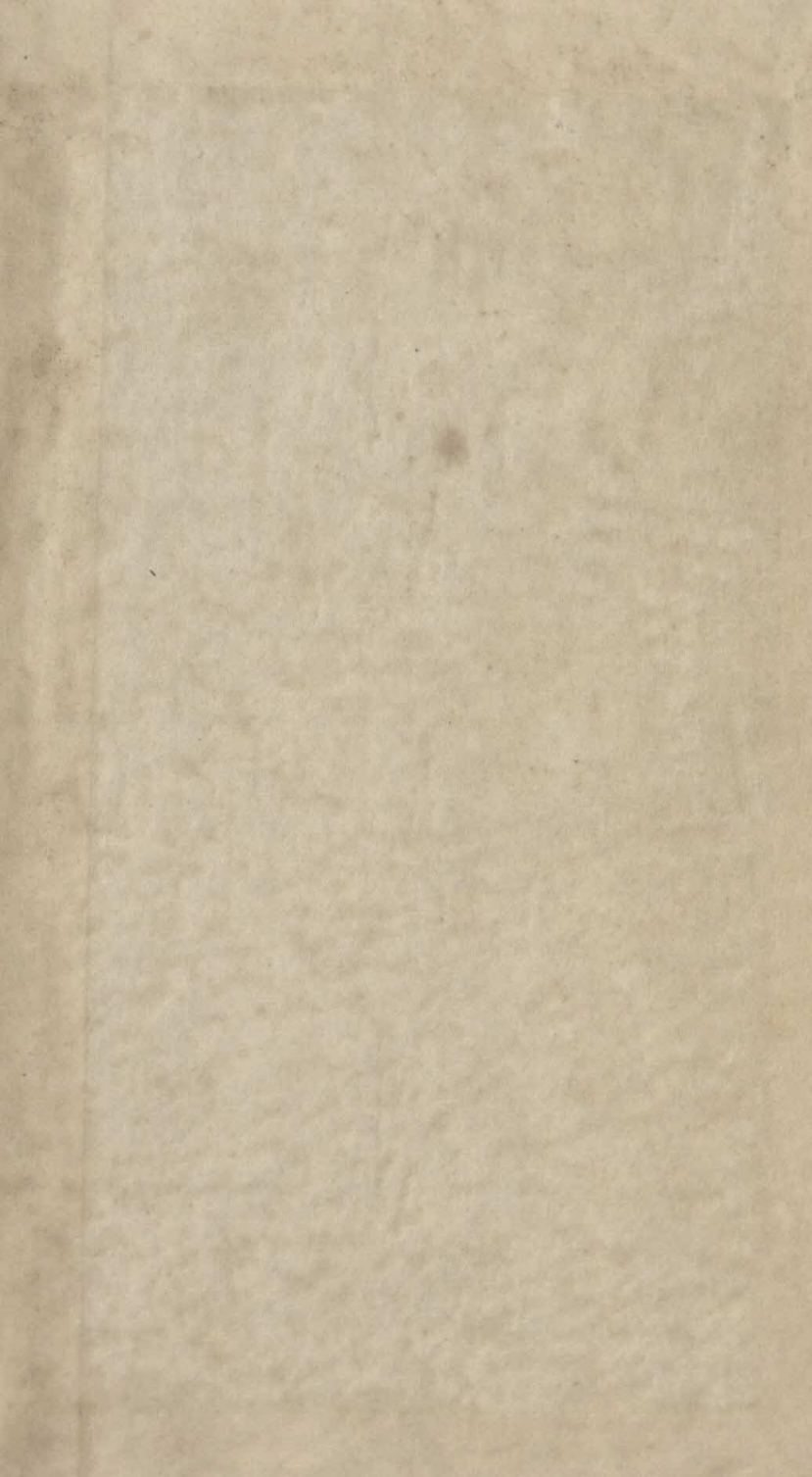
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